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HISTORY

OF THE

CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

OF

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FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON.

FORMING A SEQUEL TO

"THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION."

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BY

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&c. &c. &c.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

OF

FRANCE

UNDER

NAPOLEON.

BOOK XLI.

THE COUNCIL.

In the midst of the diverse and complicated events of which the recital has been submitted to the reader's perusal, Napoleon had beheld the realization of that which was the chief of all his wishes; for he had obtained from Providence a lineal heir, a son, whom France had hoped for, and whom for his own part, with perfect confidence in his fortune, he had never ceased to expect.

On the 19th of March 1811, towards nine o'clock in the evening, the Empress Marie-Louise experienced the first pangs of child-birth. The skilful accoucheur, Dubois, was immediately present, followed by the great physician of that period, M. Corvisart. Although the young mother was perfectly formed, the circumstances preceding the delivery were not of a perfectly satisfactory nature, and M. Dubois could not refrain from experiencing some anxiety as he

reflected on the responsibility which had fallen upon him. Napoleon perceiving with his usual penetration, that the operator's nervousness might be the source of some danger to the mother and the infant, took pains to render lighter his sense of the responsibility upon him.

"Imagine," he said to him, "that you are attending the accouchment of a sales-woman of the rue Saint-Denis; you can do no more than if the case were really so; and in any event let your chief care be to save the mother." He charged M. Corvisart not to quit M. Dubois, and for his own part never ceased to lavish the most tender attentions upon the young Empress, and by the most affectionate language to aid her to support her sufferings. At length on the morning of the next day, the 20th March, this child, to whom so high a destiny appeared to be promised, and who in reality found only exile and death in the flower of his age, was born without any of those accidents which had been feared. Napoleon received him in his arms with joy, with tenderness, and when he knew that it was a male infant, a glow of pride beamed from his countenance, as though this important circumstance were a new and remarkable mark of the special protection of Providence. He presented the new born child to his family, to his court, and gave it into the charge of Madame de Montesquiou, who had been appointed gouvernante of the children of France. The cannon of the Invalides announced to the capital the birth of a child born to an inheritance extending over the greater part of Europe.

The populace felt almost as great exultation as in the most prosperous periods of the reign, and in spite of much cause for anxiety, was delighted at finding a pledge given by Providence for the continuance of the Neapolitan dynasty.

In accordance with the decree which had made Rome the second city of the Empire, and in imitation of those Germanic usages, by which the Prince, who was heir apparent to the throne, received the title of King of Rome, this title was bestowed on the new born Prince, and his baptism, which was to be performed with as much pomp as solemnity, was fixed to take place in the month of June.

Singular mockery of fortune! This heir, so much desired, received with such rejoicings, and born to perpetuate the Empire, arrived at the moment when this colossal empire, secretly undermined in every direction, was approaching the close of its duration. Few minds as yet had observed the deep lying causes of its approaching ruin, but secret apprehension had seized upon the masses of the population, and the feeling of security had left them, whilst the sentiment of submission remained unabated, The rumour of a great war

in the North, a war which every one instinctively dreaded, especially as that of Spain was not yet concluded, had spread far and wide, and caused universal disquietude. The conscription, the result of this new war, was enforced with extreme rigour; at the same time a violent crisis overwhelmed both commerce and industry, and finally, the ecclesiastical quarrel increased in bitterness, and gave rise to the dread of a general schism. Such were the various causes which mingled grave anxiety with the joy inspired by the birth of the King of Rome.

Napoleon had suddenly changed his precautionary measures into preparations, which seemed to imply that the war would commence in the summer or autumn of the current year 1811. Indeed Russia, which had hitherto confined itself to the construction of some works on the banks of the Dwina and the Dnieper, and to some movements of the troops of Finland in Lithuania, and for which it was easy to give species excuses although it was impossible to conceal them, having received information from every quarter of the extent and rapidity of Napoleon's preparations, had at length decided on the serious measure of marching its armies on the Danube, a measure which would render doubtful the much longed for conquest of Wallachia and Moldavia. The news of this retrograde movement produced the most lively impression on Napoleon's mind; for in place of regarding it as a result of the fear which he had inspired, he believed that he had discovered in it a proof that the designs of Russia were not defensive but aggressive. This was an error; but, accustomed to the hatred of Europe and the perfidious conduct which was frequently its result, he imagined that there was a secret agreement between Russia and his enemies, open or concealed; and he considered that he ought to prepare for the commencement of the war in the July or August of the current year.

He had already resolved to march the fourth battalions upon the Elbe, and now determined to send them forward immediately, and to form a sixth battalion in those regiments, (the fifth remaining that of the depôt) which would permit of their furnishing five battalions for effective service.

He hoped thus to raise Marshal Davoust's corps to five French divisions, without taking into account a sixth division which would be Polish, and would be formed of the troops of Dantzic. He had horses collected from Germany, preferring to exhaust this country rather than France; drew the cuirasseurs, the chasseurs, and the hussars, whom he intended to send to Russia from their cantonments, and ordered the colonels to prepare to place their regiments on

a war footing. Supposing that he had not time to raise to five or even to four battalions the corps of the Rhine, which was composed of the ancient divisions which had served under Lannes and Masséna, and was spread over Holland and Belgium, he had select battalions formed of the best soldiers of each of its regiments. He gave similar orders with respect to the army of Italy; ordered the assembling and equipment on a war footing of those corps of the old and young guard which were not in Spain, wrote to all the Princes of the German confederation to demand their contingents; and thus placed himself in a position to be able to send forward on their march 167,000 excellent infantry, 39 or 40,000 of the finest cavalry, and 24,000 artillery serving 800 pieces of cannon, independently of 100,000 Poles, Saxons, Bavarians, Wurtembergians, Badians, and Westphalians.

Napoleon recalled Marshal Ney from Spain, wishing to confide to him the command of a portion of the troops assembled on the Rhine. He intended to place the surplus under Marshal Oudinot. He also recalled from Spain Marshal Montbrun, who by his conduct at Fuentés d' Onoro, and on many other occasions, had distinguished himself as one of the first cavalry officers of the period.

Fearing a sudden invasion by the Russians of the Duchy of Warsaw, Napoleon had instructed the King of Saxony and Prince Poniatowski, the Lieutenant of the King of Saxony in Poland, to transport all the artillery, all the ammunition, and all the equipments, of the weaker ill defended places, into the fortresses of the Vistula, such as Modlin, Thorn, and Dantzic. He recommended the King of Saxony to hold the Saxon troops in readiness in order to be able to march them rapidly upon the Vistula, by the side of those of Prince Poniatowski. Both were to be under the command of Marshal Davoust, who was ordered at the first signs of danger to hasten upon the Vistula with 150,000 men, of whom 100,000 French were to take up a position from Dantzig to Thorn, and 50,000 Saxons and Poles from Thorn to Warsaw. By means of such precautions it would be easy to reply to all offensive movements on the part of the Russians, and even to prevent them.

In order to fill up the ranks of his armies Napoleon had been compelled to hasten the levy of the conscription of 1811. But he had not confined himself to this measure; for he desired to recover the arrears of the previous conscriptions, which consisted of about 60,000 refractory persons who had never joined. The conscription had not then become naturalized to the national manners, as it has since become,

and the sad fate of those that were drawn, and who went to Spain to perish, whilst still mere youths, rather of famine than the sword, had not tended to dispose the population to submit to it. In certain provinces, and especially in those of the west, the centre, and the south, where courage was not wanting, but submission to the central authority was by no means firmly established, the conscription was resisted; many of those who were drawn in these parts declined to yield to the summons of the law, or if they did, subsequently deserted, and betaking themselves to the woods and to the mountains, and being favoured by the people, sometimes even made war on the gensd'armes. It was this kind of men who furnished in La Vendée the troops of the Royalist insurrection. Naturally brave, they had also derived courage from having been many years in a state of insubordination. 20 or 24,000 of these men had been recovered either by means of capture, or offers of pardon; but about 60,000 still remained at large throughout the various provinces of France.

When Napoleon had an end in view he seldom failed to find means for its accomplishment, and he now formed ten or a dozen columns mobile, which, under zealous commanders, and accompanied by bodies of gensd'armes as guides, were to undertake an active pursuit of the refractory recruits. These columns were authorised to place under martial law the provinces they should traverse, and to place soldiers in those households where the sons had failed to obey the conscription. When we remember that these soldiers regarded the refusal of military service as in the highest degree shameful and criminal, and had been in the habit of living in conquered countries, we may readily conceive that they might commit many excesses, although they were now in their own country, and that their conduct, added to the distress arising from the conscription of 1811, would drive the provinces exposed to it almost to despair.

The prefects, whose duty it was to give the sentiments of the population a direction favourable to the government, were alarmed and almost distracted at this measure. Nevertheless, some of them, wishing to make their zeal equal to what they had to perform, rendered the execution of the orders they received severer than the orders themselves. Others, on the contrary, and amongst them M. Lezay-Marnezia in the Bas-Rhin, had the courage to resist as far as possible, the general who had the command of columns in his department, and to write to the Minister of Police the most energetic letters, intended to be submitted to the perusal of Napoleon himself. But the larger number of these officials,

although secretly grieved at them, preferred to execute the orders they received rather than resign their office.

If the rural populations had their griefs, so had those of the towns theirs; these latter arising from a serious industrial and commercial crisis. We have already related the ingenious and yet violent measures devised by Napoleon for the exclusion of British commerce from the continent, except on payment of a ruinous duty, to the profit of the Imperial treasury. These measures had obtained, if not all the success which had been anticipated, at least all that could have been reasonably expected, since the conditions necessary to their success were opposed to the interests, the tastes, and the inclinations not only of one people, but of the whole world. With the exception of some contraband traffic carried on by the Swedes, who conveyed clandestinely the colonial merchandise of Gottenbourg to Stralsund; with the exception of some permitted into Old-Prussia, as much from negligence as bad faith; and with the exception of a certain amount which was still carried on in Russia under the American flag; there was no outlet for the disastrous accumulation which had taken place in London, of colonial merchandise. The manufacturers of Manchester, of Birmingham, and of all the manufacturing towns of England, overleaping as usual the end aimed at by their greedy desire for gain, had produced three or four times as much merchandise as the colonies of all the nations of the world could possibly have consumed. The vessels sent from Liverpool had been compelled to bring back a portion of their cargoes; and those few which had been able to part with their cargoes, had received in exchange colonial produce, which had become so depreciated in price, that the cost of warehousing it exceeded its value. In 1811 the distress had become so great that the British Parliament, fearing a general bankruptcy, had voted an aid to commerce of six million sterling to be distributed in loans to those manufacturers and merchants who were the most embarrassed. Such a condition of affairs, already endured for a considerable time, must inevitably have led to a commercial and financial catastrophe, or to a tendency to peace too strong for the government to resist.

But there is no species of combat whatever be the weapons employed, by which one is able to injure without receiving injury in return. Napoleon had not been able to keep back in England such quantities of products which were either agreeable, or useful, or necessary, to the populations of the continent, without causing considerable perturbation; and he had excited in France, and the neighbouring countries, a commercial and industrial crisis which was as violent as

that which afflicted England, although happily of shorter duration.

Cotton tissues having to a great extent superseded those of linen, especially since they had been produced by machinery, had become the largest branch of industry in Europe. The French manufacturers having to supply old and new France and the whole of the Continent, had proportioned their enterprise to the extent of the demand which they expected. They had speculated immoderately on the supposition that the exclusive supply of the continent would be in their hands, as the English had upon that of the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies. Other branches of manufacture had received an extension as vast and as rapid as that of cotton, and had as immoderately multiplied their produce.

Nor had the ardour of the moment directed itself only to the manufacture of the various products, but also to the introduction of the original materials of which they were composed. The speculators, to whom the funds, on account of their almost constant uniformity offered but little temptation, traded with eagerness in sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo; they hurried to Antwerp, Mayence, Frankfort, and Milan, where the government sold the merchandise which was brought back by the artillery waggons which had conveyed shot and shell to the banks of the Elb; and on the basis of these rash speculations raised up brilliant fortunes, which by turns appeared and disappeared in the sight of the astonished and envious populace.

In the midst of this commercial agitation prudence had, of course, been the virtue least observed. Whilst industry produced much which it could not sell, the speculators in raw material endeavoured to purchase far larger quantities of it than the industry of the country could employ, and the inevitable consequence of this was, that its price rose to an immoderate height. To pay for these imprudent purchases there were created artificial methods of obtaining credit. Thus, a house in Paris which dealt in timber and colonial produce drew to the extent of fifteen hundred thousand francs a month on a house in Amsterdam; this drew upon others, and these last in their turn drawing upon Paris, there was created a fictitious method of supply, which in the language of commerce is known as *papier de circulation*. The police, observing everything but not comprehending everything, fancied that they had discovered in this commercial artifice a conspiracy which they hastened to denounce to the Emperor, who was soon satisfied of its real nature by the Minister of Finance.

As little reserve was displayed in the enjoyment of the profits obtained by these means as in the means themselves. The newly acquired fortunes were lavishly expended in the purchase of those estates and chateaux of the ancient noblesse which had come into the possession of the state under the title of national property; and there were in Paris manufacturers who had honorably acquired wealth by their exertions, and speculators in colonial produce whose money was less honorably gained, who were possessed of the noblest domains in the country.

This proneness to speculation had been in existence many years, had been checked for an instant in 1809 in consequence of the Austrian war, had been resumed after the peace of Vienna, had been immoderately developed during the course of the year 1810, and had finally led, at the commencement of the year 1811 to the inevitable catastrophe which always follows such industrial and commercial excesses.

The failure of a great commercial house of Lubeck gave the signal for a succession of bankruptcies. The oldest and most respectable of the houses at Amsterdam, which had been induced by the temptation of large commissions to lend its credit to the rashest merchants of Paris, failed almost immediately after the Lubeck house. The Parisian houses, which had existed solely on the resources they had drawn from this Dutch house, perceived that the artificial nature of their existence must now be discovered, and with great clamour implored the succour of the government. Napoleon, who perceived although he did not avow the share which he had in this crisis, and who was unwilling that the celebration, which was about to take place, of the birth of the heir to his throne, should be attended by sad incidents, hastened to announce that he would afford aid to the embarrassed houses; and he desired, very properly, to render this aid efficacious by bestowing it speedily and quietly. Unfortunately, the personal opinions of his Minister of the Treasury, and the strange vanity of one of the houses which had been assisted, prevented the exact fulfilment of his intentions. M. Mollien held theoretical objections to the principle of affording aid to commerce. Napoleon disregarded his objections, and ordered him to grant assistance to a certain number of houses. But the minister consoled himself for his defeat by disputing with these houses either the value of the securities which they offered, or the possibility of saving them. This was the cause of the loss of a great deal of time. Besides this, one of the assisted houses made open mention of what the government had done for it. In this way were lost all the

advantages which would have resulted from speedy and secret aid. It became known that there was a crisis, and there took place the usual panic. Napoleon refused, as usual, to be intimidated by the difficulty, and openly assisted the chief of the embarrassed houses, in spite of all the objections of his Minister of the Treasury; but he had not the satisfaction of saving more than a very small portion of those merchants and manufacturers in whom he had interested himself.

The houses which had speculated in sugars, coffees, cotton, and timbers, were the first to fall. After these came those who had not speculated in the raw material, but who had manufactured cotton fabrics to an extent which had exceeded the demand, and had lived on the credit granted to them by certain bankers. When this credit failed they speedily succumbed. The ruin of the producers of cotton tissues was succeeded by that of the manufacturers of cloths, to whom the exclusion of French cloths from Russia had been a serious blow. The refiners who had speculated in sugars, and the leather sellers who had speculated in the leathers introduced by means of licences, felt the shock of the crisis in all its severity. Finally, the silk manufacturers, who had produced large quantities of fabrics, but who had not been so rash as other manufacturers, because their branch of industry was old and well established, and less affected by novelty and the exaggeration of profits, received a sensible blow from the last commercial regulations of Russia and by the ruin of the Hamburg houses, which, in the absence of the Americans, served as the means of export for the products of Lyons.

Large bodies of workmen soon found themselves deprived of employment in Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Flanders, Lyons, Forey, *le comtat* Vendissin, and Languedoc. Napoleon, much grieved at these accumulated distresses, and more especially at the sufferings endured by the people, and fearing the effect they might have during the fêtes he was preparing in celebration of the birth of his son, was anxious to alleviate them at any cost. He held council after council, and learned too late that there are troubles against which a man's genius and determination, however exalted, can avail nothing. It was not his system of exclusion with respect to the English which had been the cause of the evil; but his complicated combinations had induced to foolish speculations in raw material; the usurpation of the sovereignty of Hamburg had precipitated the ruin of houses which were indispensable to the vast system of continental credit at this period; large government sales had hastened the crisis, and the aid he had afforded to commerce had, by reason of the personal opinions of the Minister of the Treasury, been

granted too slowly and too grudgingly. Finally, his famous tariff of fifty per cent. had prolonged the evil, for the manufacturers who had begun to get rid of their fabrics, and who had desired to reopen their works, had not ventured to do so on account of the high price to which the elevation of the duties raised the raw material.

Rejecting the theories of M. Mallien, and holding frequent councils with the Ministers of the Interior and Finance, with the Director General of Customs, and many distinguished manufacturers and merchants, such as MM. Tourneaux and Hottinguer, Napoleon devised a plan which had some beneficial effects; this was to purchase goods secretly, and at his own expense, but apparently on account of the great banking houses, so as to lead the public to suppose that the sale was natural. This kind of aid could not change the real state of affairs, but it was not without influence, especially at Rouen, where the sales were believed to be genuine, and regarded as the commencement of a commercial movement!

This state of affairs, however, painful as it might be, was in many respects advantageous as compared with that which existed at the same time in England; for the lapse of time must ameliorate the position of commerce in France by clearing off the superabundance of manufactured goods, and attracting the Americans, who had already begun to replace in our markets the Dutch and the Russians, and to bring us the cotton which was so essential to our industrial activity. The situation of the English, on the other hand, if their commerce still continued to be blockaded, and they gained no ally on the continent, would speedily become intolerable.

The situation of French commerce and industry was, nevertheless, for the moment, extremely critical. Napoleon received deputations from the Chambers of Commerce, and in his original language, as familiar as vigorous, addressed to them a discourse, of which he desired the substance and chief expressions to be promulgated as widely as possible, and which was somewhat to the following effect:—"My ears are open to all that is said in your houses of business, and to the kind of conversation you hold in the bosom of your families and among yourselves on my policy, my laws, and myself. 'He only understands warfare,' you frequently say; 'he knows nothing of commerce, and he has no one about him capable of instructing his ignorance; his measures are extravagant and have been the cause of our ruin.' But the truth is that you who say these things are ignorant of the principles of commerce and industry. The cause of your present ruin is not I but your own conduct. You have indulged in the belief that fortune in commerce is to be gained

in a single day, as a campaign is sometimes decided by a battle. But it is, in fact, by life long labour, by prudent conduct, and by adding the accumulations of economy to the products of toil, that riches ought alone to be expected. Some of you have speculated in the sudden variations of the price of raw material, and have frequently been deceived; instead of making their fortunes they have made those of others. Others have manufactured to an extent far exceeding the demand, and have lost when they might have gained. Is it my fault if greediness has deprived you of prudence? But errors may be atoned for by patience, and that which is lost may be recovered by more prudent proceedings. You have committed faults this year, you will be wiser and more fortunate next year. As for my measures, how can you tell whether they be bad or good? Shut up in your work-rooms, and ignorant of everything which does not relate to silk or cotton, iron, wood, or leather, having no general view of the whole industrial system, ignorant of the vast relations existing between state and state, how are you capable of judging of the means which I employ against England? Enquire, however, of those among you who have gone furtively to London for contraband purposes, respecting what they have seen there. I know what they say as well as I know what you say, for I am thoroughly informed of all that you utter, and all that you do. They have returned astonished at the distress endured by England, at the overcrowded state of their magazines, at the continued depression of its exchange, at the ruin of its commerce, and have said on their return, of me and my measures, 'this devil of a man is right after all.' Well! I *am* right, and my plans have reduced England to a desperate position more speedily than I could have hoped. She has saturated with her products the colonies of Spain, her own, and ours, for I do not know how many years. They have not been able to pay her, or when they have paid her it has been in colonial produce, by which that already on her hands has been depreciated in value. On this colonial produce the merchants draw bills, which go to the bank and are there converted into paper money. The government also draws upon the bank for the pay of its armies and navies, and this causes fresh emissions of paper money. How long do you suppose that this state of things can last? And are we in a similar state? No! I have freed you from paper money, I have still 800 millions in gold or silver in my treasury, and you have the whole continent open for the sale of your manufactures. The contest was not on equal terms between England and ourselves. She must sooner or later succumb. There are

some outlets in Sweden, Prussia, and a more distant part of the world, (alluding to Russia) by which English produce finds its way over the continent; but be patient; I shall take proper measures. There are contraband traders; I shall find means of detecting them. Those who escape my custom house officers, shall not escape my soldiers, and I will pursue them to the utmost. Do you understand me?"

Napoleon uttered these words menacingly, and with the utmost excitement of gesture, glance, and accent. He resumed his discourse and said,—"this war with England is long and painful, I know, but what would you that I should do? What measures do you wish me to employ? Since you complain so much that the sea is closed, I presume that you are of opinion that it should be open, that a single power should not rule over it at the expense of all the others? For myself, I am thoroughly determined on this point; I will never abandon the rights of neutrals, I will never submit to the principle that the flag does not cover the merchandise, that the neutral should be compelled to visit England to pay her tribute. Should I be guilty of yielding to such theories you would soon be unable to sail from Rouen or Havre, without a passport from the English. My decrees from Berlin and Milan will be laws of the Empire until England has renounced its foolish pretensions. The Americans ask permission to reappear in our ports, for the purpose of bringing you their cotton and purchasing your silks, which will be to you a source of great relief. I am ready to consent to this, on condition that they enforce on their side the principles which I maintain, and which are also theirs, and the principles of all maritime nations, and that if they should not be able to induce England to respect these principles as regards themselves, they will declare war against her. If they will not consent to this condition I will treat them as English, and close against them my ports. What would you that I should do? Undoubtedly if I had been able to form Admirals as I have formed Generals, we would have beaten the English, and a real peace, not patched up like that of Amiens, and cloaking over a thousand unappeased resentments, a thousand opposite, irreconcilable interests, would have been established. Unhappily I cannot be everywhere. Being unable to vanquish the English on the sea, I conquer them by land and pursue them along the coasts of the old continent. Nevertheless I do not resign all attempts by sea, for our sailors are as brave as theirs, and our naval officers need only practice. My vessels shall again go forth, and if they lose the first battle or the second, they will gain the third or at least the fourth, for there will at length arise a

man who will render our flag victorious, and in the meantime I will hold my sword at the breast of any who may be inclined to aid the English. The contest is long, I grant, but in the meantime you will profit by the development of our industry, by becoming manufacturers and by supplying the continent, in the place of the English, with woven fabrics, cutlery, and cloths. It is afer all no slight advantage to have the supply of the continent in our hands. The world is constantly subject to change; there is not a single age which resembles another. To be rich in former times, it was necessary to possess India, America, Saint Domingo. These times are already nearly passed away. We must now be manufacturers, and provide for ourselves that which we formerly sought elsewhere. If I have time you shall manufacture your own colonial produce, sugar, indigo; not that I despise the colonies or maritime enterprise; but manufacturing industry is at least of equal importance, and whilst I am striving for the freedom of the seas, the industry of France developes. Being in this position, therefore, we are able to wait. In the meantime Bordeaux and Hamburg suffer; but they suffer now that they may profit hereafter by the re-establishment of freedom on the seas. It is necessary to know how to suffer for the sake of a great purpose. Your sufferings during this year, however, have not been for any great purpose, but are the result of your own errors. I am better acquainted with your affairs than you are with mine. Act with prudence and moderation, and do not hasten to blame me, for when you do so, it is frequently the case that you ought rather to blame yourselves. Moreover, I watch over your interests, and every alleviation of your condition, it is possible to obtain for you, you receive."

Such was the language by which Napoleon silenced without convincing, although he was right upon almost every point, the commercial men with whom he spoke. But it is a subject of constant wonder, that men who have abundant wisdom to bestow upon others, have very little with which to guide themselves. Napoleon was right to blame the merchants for their rash speculations, but how much would he have been embarrassed, if one of these speculators in sugar or cotton, had demanded of him, a speculator of another sort, whether a contest with England rendered necessary to acquire the crowns of Naples, Spain, and Portugal, and to bestow them upon his brothers; whether the difficulty of establishing his dynasty upon so many thrones, had not singularly increased the difficulty of triumphing over the maritime pretensions of the English; whether, with the Bourbons trembling, and submission at Madrid and Naples, he

could not have obtained from them as much concurrence in his designs as from his half rebellious brothers; whether the French troops dispersed at Naples, Cadiz, and Lisbon, might not have been better risked between Calais and Lisbon; whether even allowing these conquests to be necessary, he would not have commenced by driving Lord Wellington into the sea, contenting himself with the blockade as practised by Russia, instead of suddenly leaving the English to be triumphant in the Peninsula, for the purpose of venturing in the north on a new war, the success of which must have been doubtful, under a pretence of enforcing a strict observance of the blockade, which was by no means indispensable; and whether constant changes of place, inordinate pride and desire to make the whole universe submit to his will, was the sure and direct method of putting an end to the tyrannical ambition of England.

There was no such tardy questioner, and the truth was not spoken. But to leave the truth unspoken is to conceal an evil without checking it; and its secret ravages are the most dangerous, because they suddenly become apparent when it is too late to remedy them.

Added to the two causes of evil, which we have spoken, and which were the conscription and commercial crisis, was a third, which consisted of the religious troubles which had been recently aggravated by a fresh outburst of Napoleon's violent selfwill.

We have seen above to what point matters had arrived, with the Pope in confinement at Savoy. Napoleon had sent to him the Cardinals Spina and Cassel, for the purpose of obtaining in the first place the canonical institution of the nominated Bishops, which was the chief source of difficulty, and afterwards to sound him with respect to a settlement of all the points in dispute between the Empire and the Papacy. Napoleon was particularly anxious to induce Pius VII. to consent to the abrogation of the temporal power of the holy see; the annexation of Rome to the territory of the Empire, and the establishment of a Papacy dependant on the new Emperors of the west; the residence of which should be Avignon or Paris, and as much under the authority of the Emperor of the French, as the Russian church was under the authority of the Czars, and Islamism under the authority of the Sultans. Pius VII. had at first received the Cardinals with considerable coldness but he had subsequently displayed a more conciliatory demeanour towards them, and had shown himself not absolutely averse to the canonical institution of the nominated Bishops, but indisposed to grant it immediately in order that he might preserve a means of con-

straining Napoleon to bestow attention on the affairs of the Church. At the same time he appeared determined to reject the material advantages which were offered to him, demanding but two things, the Catacombs as a residence, and some faithful Cardinals as councillors.

Although their journey was without result, the two Cardinals were inclined to think that the Pope was not unreasonable, and that by considerate treatment, and the grant of a Council, he would be induced to resume his pontifical functions without leaving Savoy, being content to live there because he was there, and because being in some sort a prisoner there he would sanction nothing by his submission to it, whilst if he went to Paris or Avignon, and accepted the offers which were made to him, he would be sanctioning the Imperial acts, From the interviews which the Pope had since had with M. de Chabral, the same conclusions might be drawn, and Napoleon sought for some plan of reconciling the inclinations of the Pope with his own views, when various incidents which had suddenly come to pass had hurried him into a state of extraordinary exasperation and the most violent proceedings.

The reader doubtless remembers the expedient which had been devised for the provisional administration of the dioceses to which the prelates had been nominated but not instituted, There were no less than twenty-seven dioceses in this position, and amongst them such sees as Florence, Malines, Paris, &c. The Chapters, some of them voluntarily, and others compulsorily, had conferred the qualification of Vicars Capitular on the nominated bishops, by which means they were enabled to govern as administrators their new dioceses. Cardinal Maury, nominated Archbishop of Paris in the place of Cardinal Fesch, and not yet instituted, administered in this manner the diocese of Paris, but he had much opposition to bear on the part of the Chapter.

Napoleon was like an enraged lion at such new instance of opposition on the part of the clergy, but he allowed such things to occupy his attention but little now, as he looked forward to a general settlement of all ecclesiastical affairs, shortly to take place. But reports reached him from Turin, Florence, and Paris, which suddenly revealed to him a plan devised by priests and bigots to render impossible the provisional administrations devised for the churches. The Pope had secretly written to the various Chapters to engage them not to recognise as Vicars Capitular the nominated but uninstituted bishops. He addressed to the Chapter of Paris a formal prohibition to recognise Cardinal Maury as Vicar Capitular, and had sent a most bitter letter to the Cardinal

himself, reproaching him with his ingratitude towards the Holy See, which, he said, had received him in his exile, and endowed him with many benefices, and especially the bishopric of Motefiasione (as though the Cardinal had not done for the church at least as much as the church had done for him), and enjoined him to renounce the administration of the diocese of Paris. By a strange piece of negligence this double missive had been addressed to the Chapter and the Cardinal through the Minister of Worship, together with many other missives relative to matters of detail, which the Pontiff was from time to time desirous of arranging. The minister having opened these letters was extremely surprised at their contents, and being unwilling to say anything respecting them to the Cardinal from a fear of distressing him, sent them to the Emperor, whose irritation may be conceived, when he saw these efforts of the imprisoned Pope to nullify the last means left of administering the vacant dioceses.

At the same moment there arrived from Piedmont and Tuscany information of an exactly similar nature. M. d' Osmond, nominated Archbishop of Florence, and actually on his way to his new diocese, was met at Plaisance by a deputation from the Chapter of Florence charged with a declaration to him that there was already a Vicar Capitular, that it would be impossible to elect another, and that instructions had been received regarding this matter from Savoy, and that it was resolved not to disobey them. This unhappy archbishop, a wise but a timid man, had therefore remained at Plaisance in the most cruel perplexity. The Princess Elisa, Napoleon's sister, who governed her duchy with a happy mixture of gentleness and firmness, had been informed of the circumstance, and having inquired into the whole matter sent an account of it to Napoleon before taking any severe measures. In Piedmont, the nominated Bishop of Asti met with a similar reception ; and the Prince Borghèse, Governor of Piedmont, had sent to Paris, as had the Princess Elisa, the particulars of this singular and audacious opposition.

Napoleon now saw that there was a well-combined system of resistance, of which the result must be either to compel him immediately to come to terms with the Pope, or to excite a decided schism. He was informed almost simultaneously, namely, on the 29th, the 30th, and 31st December, 1810, of the facts above related. He determined to put a stop to the propagation of the letters of the Pope, and with this end in view desired to strike with terror all those who had carried them, had received them, or had them in their possession. On the following day, the 1st January, 1811, he was to re-

ceive the homage of the great bodies of the state, especially of the chapter and clergy of Paris. At the head of the chapter of Paris was the Abbé d'Astros, a passionate and imprudent priest, who held, even to fanaticism, all the opinions of that portion of the clergy which was hostile to the Emperor. Napoleon, knowing the kind of man with whom he had to deal, entered into conversation with him, on this occasion, on the most difficult points of the religious disputes, and in such a manner as to provoke on the part of the Abbé some imprudence which might serve to draw out his real opinions. He succeeded perfectly, and after having drawn the Abbé into uttering those expressions he wished, he had the Duke of Rovigo, who was in the palace, summoned to his presence, and said to him, "Either I am much deceived or this Abbé has in his possession letters of the Pope. Detain him before he leaves the Tuilleries, interrogate him, and give orders that his papers be searched, and we shall certainly discover that which we wish to know."

The Duke of Rovigo, who had already acquired all the dexterity necessary to his new functions, on interrogating the Abbé pretended to be acquainted with that of which he was ignorant, and obtained by this means a revelation of that which had taken place. The Abbé d'Astros acknowledged that he had received the two letters from the Pope, the one for the Chapter, the other for the Cardinal, declared, however, that he had not yet propagated them, and, very imprudently, admitted having spoken thereof to his parent, M. Portalis. At the same moment the agents sent to the Abbé's abode had found the Papal letters, and many other missions which revealed full particulars of the scheme which was being inquired into.

When all this was first discovered, Napoleon, who desired to inspire fear, commenced with a first victim, and this victim was M. Portalis, who, equally submissive to the church and Napoleon, had thought it sufficient to say to the Prefect of Police who was his friend, that there was in circulation a letter from the Pope which was much to be regretted, and which was very capable of sowing discord between the Church and the State, and that it would be well to prevent its propagation; and had not thought it necessary to particularize his son, the Abbé d'Astros.

On the 4th of January the Council of State being assembled, and M. Portalis assisting at the sitting, Napoleon commenced by relating all that had passed between the Pope and certain Chapters, and the aim of which was, according to him, to excite subjects against their sovereign; then affecting a tone of extreme grief, he added, that the most painful part

of the circumstance was that amongst the most guilty persons was a man whom he had loaded with benefits, the son of an old minister whom he had much esteemed, a member of his own council then present, M. Portalis. Then, turning abruptly to the person accused, he demanded of him whether he had known of the Pope's letter; whether, having known of it, and keeping it secret, this were not both treason and black ingratitude. M. Portalis, an eminent magistrate, whose energy was not, unfortunately, equal to his high intelligence, was only able to utter some broken words, and Napoleon, forgetting what was due to a member of his council, to the council, and to himself, addressed him thus:—

"Go, sir, go! that I may see you here no more!" The Councillor of State treated with this violence, tremblingly arose, and traversing in tears the council chamber, retired almost senseless from the midst of his stupified colleagues.

The secret satisfaction which humanity generally experiences at the sight of any extraordinary disgrace was not the sentiment which was excited on this occasion. Compassion and a sense of wounded dignity were manifested throughout the council by an icy demeanour. There is no power, however great, which can offend with impunity the sentiments of an assembly of men. Napoleon perceiving from the aspect of those around him that he had been injudicious and cruel, experienced a feeling of embarrassment from which he vainly attempted to escape by an affectation of extreme grief which was almost ridiculous. He was permitted to indulge uninterrupted in this senseless display, and the council retired without saying a word.

Napoleon took more efficacious measures than this for the purpose of intimidating the clergy, and checking the ill consequences that might result from the circumstances that had come to light. He had M. d'Astros detained; arrested or banished from Paris many of the priests composing the conciliabule of which the existence had been discovered; ordered the Prince Borghèse, and his sister Elisa, to send under arrest the refractory canons of Asti and Florence to Fenestrelle, and to declare to these chapters that if they did not immediately submit and directly confer on the new prelates the quality of Vicars Capitular, their sees would be suppressed, together with the canonries, and that the canons would be confined in the state prisons. The same declaration was addressed to the Chapter of Paris.

These violent measures were followed by others still more grievous. Napoleon ordered the Pope to be separated from all those persons by whom he was surrounded, with the exception of one or two domestics on whom perfect reliance

could be placed; that he should be deprived of all means of writing, that his papers should be seized and sent to Paris, that his expenses, which had hitherto been on a princely scale, should be reduced to fifteen or twenty thousand francs per annum, and that he should be expressly forbidden either to write or to receive letters. An officer of gendarmerie was to watch him day and night and to observe his least movements. The Prefect, M. de Chabral, was charged to frighten him not only in respect to himself but in respect to all those who had been mixed up in the late proceedings; and to intimate that by his imprudent conduct he had rendered himself liable to be deposed by a council, and had exposed his accomplices to still severer punishments.

The execution of these furious measures was fortunately entrusted to a man of tact and good sense! But whilst he executed his orders with all kindness he was compelled to fulfil them; and the Pope, although at first he testified more annoyance at the measures to which he was subjected than was fit (and we are grieved at having to record the fact, for we are jealous of the dignity of such a victim), soon submitted to them with great patience, saying that he did so not for his own sake but for the sake of those who might become victims of their devotion to the church, and adding, that as for himself he was near the close of his career, and would soon escape from his persecutors by leaving in their hands, instead of a Pope an inanimate corpse.

As for the Chapters of Florence and Asti, they were miserably zealous in their submission; made their excuses with tears and on their knees, and conferred on M. d'Osmond, for the diocese of Florence, and on M. Dejèan for the diocese of d'Asti, almost all the powers not only of an administrator, but even of an instituted prelate. At Paris the completeness of the submission was even more strongly marked. The dioceses of Metz, of Aix, and others, where the same spirit of opposition had been displayed, submitted with equal docility. This was not for the church the age either of martyrdom or genius. Pius VII., notwithstanding some weaknesses, inseparable from his state of suffering, was the only one of its members worthy of the fortunate ages of the Roman church.

Napoleon, being obeyed, grew calm. But he resolved to put an end to this spirit of resistance, and determined to execute an idea which had already frequently offered itself to his mind, and which was that of assembling a council, of which he would be the absolute master, and by means of which he might either induce the Pope to yield, or render his submission unnecessary, by substituting for the authority of the

head of the church the authority of the assembled church. He had already formed an ecclesiastical commission, composed of many prelates and many priests, and he now reconvoked it, and submitted to it all those questions which arose out of the project of a council, such as whether it should be general or provincial, and what forms it should observe. He insisted earnestly on the speedy examination of these questions, as he proposed to assemble the council at the commencement of the month of June, on the very day of the baptism of the King of Rome.

In the meantime Napoleon devoted constant attention to the affairs in the North, and was equally active in his diplomatic and military preparations.

In diplomacy he had made a choice which could not have a happy influence on his destiny, and which was that of the Duke of Bassano for his Minister of Foreign Affairs. Already, as we have seen, he had separated himself from the only two personages who could be perceived across the *auréole* of his glory, MM. Fouché and Talleyrand. As we have before related, he had replaced M. Fouché by the Duke of Rovigo, and had replaced M. de Talleyrand by M. de Champagny, Duke of Cadore, a wise and temperate man, who never opposed Napoleon's wishes, but never aggravated them, and rather softened their execution by the moderation of his character. M. de Cadore made excellent reports, but he spoke little, and Napoleon often complained to Prince Cambacérès that his Minister of Foreign Affairs failed in conversation, and at length yielded to the solicitations of his Secretary of State, M. de Bassano, who ardently desired the position. Napoleon decided upon this choice in April, 1811, a period when the affairs of all Europe were in a most complicated state, and when such a choice might have the most unfortunate consequences.

M. de Bassano had precisely all those qualities in which M. de Cadore was wanting. Exactly to that extent that M. de Cadore was endowed with modesty and timidity, M. de Bassano was endowed with the very opposite characteristics. He was an honest man and devoted to Napoleon, but his devotion was of a species that is fatal to the princes who are its object; he had the taste and the talent for representation, spoke well, and was vain to excess of the reflection of his master's glory. He was exactly fitted to add to Napoleon's defects, if, indeed, any one could add to any quality of Napoleon's. Napoleon's imperious will expressed by the hesitating lips of M. de Cadore lost its violence; and in the sarcastic manner of M. de Talleyrand lost its bitterness; but Napoleon styled this method of transmitting his orders mal-

address in the first case, and treason in the second. He had nothing of this sort to fear on the part of M. de Bassano, and might be quite certain that his imperious will would never be tempered by the prudent reserve of his minister. The proudest of masters was now to have the least modest of ministers, and that too at a period when Europe, driven at bay, required the most skilful management. We must add as an excuse for M. de Bassano that he regarded Napoleon, not only as the greatest of captains but also as the greatest of politicians.

On the 17th of April Napoleon summoned the arch-chancellor Cambacérès, and informing him of the cause of his dissatisfaction with M. de Cadore, stated his intention of replacing him by the Duke of Bassano. The Prince Cambacérès said a few words in favour of M. de Cadore, and was silent respecting M. de Bassano; a silence which Napoleon well understood but of which he took no notice, and having signed the decree he directed the Prince Cambacérès to go with M. de Bassano to demand of M. de Cadore his portfolio. M. de Cadore was extremely surprised at the message, for he was ignorant that he had displeased his master, and he delivered the portfolio, with ill concealed chagrin, to M. de Bassano, who received it with the blind joy of gratified ambition.

Prince Cambacérès had observed the distress of M. de Cadore, and reported it to Napoleon, who, always filled with regret when he found it necessary to afflict his old servants, granted him a fair recompense for the ministry of which he had been deprived, by nominating him Intendant General of the Crown.

Napoleon had been happier in his choice of a new ambassador to St. Petersburg. He had replaced, as we have said above, M. the Duke of Vicenza by M. de Lauriston, one of his aides-de-camps, whom he had already employed with advantage in many delicate missions. M. de Lauriston was a plain, sensible man, who was unwilling to displease his master, but preferred displeasing to deceiving him. No ambassador was more fitted for reconciling the two Emperors of France and Russia, if they could have been reconciled; but there was little chance of his effecting such an object in the situation which affairs had now reached.

Napoleon, whilst he precipitated his warlike preparations, on receiving information of the recall of the Russian regiments from Turkey, perceived that they could no longer be dissimulated, and had ordered M. de Coulaincourt, at the moment of his departure, and M. de Lauriston at the moment of his arrival, to avow all the preparations which had been

made, in such a manner as to intimidate Alexander, since his suspicions could no longer be lulled. But he had, at the same time, authorised them to declare that he was not anxious for war, and only prepared for it because he felt convinced that Russia, as soon as the war with Turkey was concluded, would form an alliance with England; that she had already taken some steps in this direction by receiving the Americans into her ports; that, in his opinion, the reception of contrabandists was almost a declaration of war; that as for so wretched a thing as Oldenburg, an indemnity had but to be demanded of him and it should be given; but that it was necessary that any secret cause of dissatisfaction should be openly expressed in order that arms should at once be taken up or finally laid aside, as it was impossible to submit to the exhaustion of useless preparations. All these things he had said by his own mouth to Prince Kourakin and M. de Czernicheff, with that mixture of grace, hauteur, and bonhomie which he knew so well how to employ to suit his purpose, and he had urged M. de Czernicheff to go to St. Petersburg to repeat them.

But all these precautions were useless, for Alexander had been informed day by day, and with rare exactness, of all that had taken place in France. To every attempt, therefore, made by M. de Coulaincourt to deny or to excuse the facts respecting which information arrived every day at St. Petersburg, Alexander replied, "Do not deny them, for I am certain of the truth of what I assert. It is very evident that you are left in ignorance, and that you are no longer trusted. All the pains that I take to enlighten you and which I willingly take because I esteem and regard you, are thrown away. Napoleon does not trust you because you tell him the truth; he asserts that I have seduced you, that you are mine and not his; it will be the same with M. Lauriston who is also an honest man, for he will only be able to repeat the same things, and your master will say that M. Lauriston has been gained over by the enemy.

M. de Coulaincourt having replied that France was certainly making preparations, but they were only in answer to those made by Russia, and having spoken of the works on the Dwina and the Dnieper, of the movements of the troops of Finland, and of those of the troops of Turkey, Alexander rejoined, "You assert that I am arming, M. de Coulaincourt, and I am far from denying it, I am effectually armed; I am ready, quite ready, and you will find me prepared to defend myself to the utmost. And what would you have thought of me if I had acted otherwise, if I had been so simple, so forgetful of my duty, as to leave my country exposed

to the prompt, exacting, and terrible will of your master? But I have only armed after having received certain information that Dantzic is being placed in a state of defence, that its garrison is being augmented, that the troops of Marshal Davoust are being reinforced and concentrated, that the Poles and Saxons have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness; that Modlin and Thorn have been repaired, and all the fortifications provisioned. This information having reached me see what I have done"—Then conducting M. de Coulaincourt by the hand into a retired cabinet in which were spread open his maps, he added, "I have ordered defensive works, not in advance of, but behind my frontier, on the Dwina and the Dnieper, at Riga, at Dunaburg, at Balernisk, that is to say at a distance from the Niemen, almost as great as that which separates Strasbourg from Paris. If your master should fortify Paris, should I complain of it? And when he carries his preparations so far in advance of my frontiers, should I be accused of provoking war because I arm myself behind mine? I have not drawn whole divisions from Finland, but simply restored to the divisions of Lithuania those regiments which had been taken from them for the war against the Swedes. I have changed the organization of my depôts; I have augmented my guard and am anxious to render it equal to the guard of Napoleon. Finally, I have drawn five divisions from Turkey, of which I am so far from making a mystery, that I make it a subject of accusation against you, for by compelling me to do this you have prevented me from reaping the profit which it was agreed I was to have from our alliance. I have not such good generals as yours, I am not myself so good a general or administrator as Napoleon; but I have good soldiers, and a devoted people, and we will perish sword in hand, rather than permit ourselves to be treated as the Dutch, or the people of Hamburg. At the same time I declare to you upon my honour, that I will not strike the first blow. I will let you pass the Niemen before I pass it myself. Believe me when I say that I do not desire war; and that my nation, although hurt and terrified at your proceedings, does not desire it—but if attacked she will not recede.

M. de Coulaincourt having replied again, that the projected alliance with England after the conquest of the Danubian provinces, and the re-establishment of commercial relations with her, were regarded by Napoleon as no less dangerous than an attack by artillery; Alexander was as prompt in giving explanation on this subject as on the others. "Ally myself with England," he said, "after the conclusion of the war with Turkey! I have never thought of such a

thing. After the conclusion of the war with Turkey; after having added Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, to my empire, I shall consider that the military and political tasks of my reign have been accomplished. I shall have no wish to run new hazards, but rather desire to enjoy in repose that which I shall have gained, and to employ myself in the civilisation of my empire rather than its enlargement. Again, to reconcile myself with England, I must alienate myself from France, and thus run the chance of a war with her; a war which I regard as the most dangerous of all! And for what end? To support England, to assist her in the maintenance of her maritime theories which are not mine? This would be madness on my part. I shall remain faithful to the policy of Tilsit, I shall remain at war with England, and keep my ports closed against her, but in that manner which I have already declared, and from which it is impossible that I should depart. I cannot, I have told you, and I repeat it, interdict all commerce to my subjects, nor prevent them from dealing with the Americans. Some English merchandise thus enters Russia, but you admit at least as much by your tariff which permits its entrance, on the payment of a duty of fifty per cent. It is necessary that, whilst persisting in an alliance which you take no pains to popularise in Russia, I should not render it intolerable to my people by a kind of devotion to it which you do not display in respect to it, and which is not necessary to the reduction of England, since this will speedily take place, if you do not raise up allies for her on the continent. On the other points on which we dispute, I have made my determination. The Poles are very turbulent and openly announce the approaching reconciliation of Poland, but with respect to this subject, I rely on the Emperor's word, although he has refused me the convention which I have demanded. As for Oldenburg, I desire some suitable compensation not for the sake of my family, for I am sufficiently rich to recompense it for this loss, but for the dignity of my crown. And in this matter also I rely on the Emperor Napoleon. I have told you, and repeat it, that although hurt and embarrassed by what has taken place with respect to the Duchy of Oldenburg, I will not make this a reason for war."

Subtle as Alexander was, he manifestly expressed his real sentiments in his discussions with M. de Coulaincourt. He was far from being gratified at Napoleon's greatness, but he resigned himself to it in consideration of obtaining Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia. He did not wish to become reconciled with England at the risk of a war with France, the very idea of which made him tremble, but nevertheless he was not prepared to sacrifice to her the remainder of his

commerce, and to preserve this alone was he willing to brave a rupture with her. His nation, and by his nation we understand particularly the nobility and the elevated portion of the army, divined and shared his sentiments on all these points; and whilst it knew that a war with France would be sufficiently serious, was prepared to defend its independence. An idea had already spread throughout all ranks of the people that the example of the English in Portugal would be followed, that they would retreat into the depths of Russia, destroy everything as they retreated, and that the French would perish of destitution if not destroyed by the Russian arms. But in language and attitude they showed no disposition to insult or provoke France, and those Frenchmen who were in the country were everywhere received with redoubled politeness.

The news of the birth of the King of Rome having reached St. Petersburg before the arrival of M. de Lauriston, Alexander had sent all the grandees of his court to compliment the Ambassador of France, and behaved in this matter with as much frankness as cordiality. M. de Coulaincourt desired to terminate his brilliant, and, we must acknowledge, useful embassy, (for he had contributed to the delay of the rupture between the two empires) by a magnificent fête given on the occasion of the birth of the King of Rome. He had naturally desired that the Emperor should be present at it, and the latter, divining his wish, addressed him thus:—"Do not invite me, for I should be obliged to refuse you, not being able to dance with you while two hundred thousand French soldiers are marching towards my frontiers. I shall declare myself ill, to furnish you with a reason for not inviting me, but I will send you all my court, and even my family, for I wish that your fête should be as brilliant as it ought to be, whether we regard the event which it celebrates or you who give it. Your successor arrives, and possibly brings us some reassuring information; and should an understanding be come to between us, I will bestow both on your master and yourself distinguished testimonies of my friendship.

M. de Lauriston, very impatiently expected, at length arrived on the 9th of May, 1811. M. de Coulaincourt immediately presented him to the Emperor Alexander, who received him very graciously. After some days consecrated to official receptions full of éclat, Alexander put M. de Lauriston to the question, so to speak, in order to obtain some information respecting Napoleon's projects; but he learnt nothing which had not been already told him by M. de Coulaincourt, or repeated to him by M. de Czernicheff, who had recently arrived from Paris.

After some discussions had taken place between the Emperor and M. de Lauriston similar to those which had so often taken place with M. de Coulaincourt, the Emperor received the adieus of the latter, embraced him, entreated him to make Napoleon acquainted with the whole truth, prayed M. de Lauriston, who was present, to repeat it in his turn, and sadly added these characteristic words: "But you will no longer be believed, M. de Coulaincourt ... they will say that you have been gained over, that I have seduced you, and that, fallen into my snares, you have become more Russian than French."

After some days passed in St. Petersburg, M. de Lauriston wrote to the French Minister declaring that as an honest man he was compelled to say that the Emperor Alexander, although to a certain extent prepared, was not desirous of war, and would certainly not take the initiative; that as regarded Oldenburg, he would accept whatever might be given him, even Erfurt, although such an indemnity was ridiculous; and that with respect to the commercial question, more rigour might be obtained in the examination of the papers of neutrals, but that Russia would never consent to all that was demanded in that respect.

M. de Czernicheff was again sent to Paris to repeat in other terms, but with the same affirmations, exactly the same things, and also to continue that corruption of the bureaux of war, to which his government attached so high a value, because it enabled it to obtain the most precise information respecting the French military preparations.

The conclusion arrived at by Napoleon from the new explanations brought by MM. de Czernicheff and de Coulaincourt, and received in the letters of M. de Lauriston, was, not that peace was possible, but that the war might be deferred a year; and as he had determined to conduct this new campaign in the North with immense resources at his command, he was not sorry to have still a year in which to complete his preparations. But why did he not see that it was possible, not only to defer, but even entirely to avoid the contest? Because he had so often found that after a first coldness, a war was, with him, inevitable, and had so often seen his concealed enemies ready to rally round the first open enemy who dared to raise the mask. He had seen so plainly in Russia an enemy, vanquished but not crushed, around whom the resentments of Europe would gather, that he had said that a war with her sooner or later was inevitable; and perceiving in the probable war all the consequences of a war declared, reading profoundly the hearts of others without looking into his own, failing to see that the change from coldness to open quarrel was chiefly caused by his own impetuous character,

failing to see that it would be otherwise if he would himself become moderate, patient, and tolerant towards others; making no salutary reflexions and having no one about him to compel him to make them, he resolved a second time, we may say, in the May of 1811, to make war with Russia.

He wrote to Marshal Davoust that the matters were less pressing, but that no preparations were to be resigned; that his intention was to have the army of the North ready for the commencement of 1812, but of more extensive proportions than he had at first determined on. It was no longer of 300,000 men that he thought; he wished to have 200,000 under Marshal Davoust, on the Vistula, 200,000 others under his own command on the Oder, with a reserve of 150 on the Elbe or on the Rhine, an almost equal force in the interior, for the safety of the Empire, and nevertheless to send troops to Spain, instead of withdrawing them. Napoleon countermanded the departure of the fourth and sixth battalions of Marshal Davoust, decided that they should be formed at the depôt, because they would receive there better organization, and projected the formation of a seventh so as to have six for actual service.

He hastened the formation of battalions d'élite which had been ordered in the regiments stationed in Holland and Italy, and even wished that a fourth and a sixth battalion should be created in each of these regiments. He ordered that a purchase of horses which had been commenced should be enlarged, but made more slowly, in order that its results might be of a better quality; and made preparations for the construction of an immense baggage train of the largest proportions and on a new plan. He took advantage of the time at his disposal to reorganize and on a larger scale the Polish army, and sent funds to Warsaw for the purpose of having the fortifications of Torgau, Modlin, and Thorn, thoroughly repaired and armed by the following year.

In the conduct of his diplomacy he held the same ends in view. Austria had been sounded and a response had been obtained from her which was of a nature to inspire confidence. M. de Metternich directed the Cabinet of Vienna since the war of 1809. His declared policy was, peace with France, and being ambitious to obtain from this peace some brilliant result for his country, he wished to make it the foundation of a species of alliance, and by means of this alliance to obtain the restoration of Illyria, which was what Austria at this moment regretted the most. It was on this account that the idea of a marriage between Napoleon and Marie-Louise had been received with so much cordiality. But this policy found at Vienna more than one opposer; being con-

tradicted both by the conduct and the inclinations of the court and the people. But the government had determined on the line of conduct that it would take, and had decided, if it could not remain neutral, to pronounce for the strongest, that is to say, for Napoleon.

In the meantime the Austrian Emperor, leaving his court to act as it chose, and contenting himself with holding aloof from any of its manifestations, wrote the most friendly letters to his daughter, encouraged his minister to treat France with great caution, at once consented to aid her in Turkey, (for he was anxious to prevent Russia from obtaining the Danubian provinces,) and held out hopes that Austria would be an ally, in the event of new European complications, on condition of obtaining some solid advantage.

M. de Metternich entered fully into these views, and was perhaps rather more favourably inclined towards us than the King himself. He said to M. Otto with a singular mixture of *abandon*, cordiality, and confidence in himself—"Leave me to myself, and all will go well. Your master is always anxious to do things too rapidly. At Constantinople you commit great faults. You are too apt to think that the Turks are brutes to be driven with a cudgel. These brutes are become as subtle as yourselves. They perceive the speculations which all the world, and especially you, are indulging in with respect to them. They know that you delivered them up to the Russians in 1807, and that now you wish to take them away again, to make them aid you against these same Russians. They detect you and understand in an opposite sense all that you say to them. Keep in the background, be reserved at Constantinople, and we shall snatch from the hands of the Russians, the rich prey which you have so imprudently resigned to them. Trust in me and the Turks shall lose neither Moldavia nor Wallachia. But show yourselves in the matter as little as possible. All counsel that comes from you is suspected at Constantinople." In speaking on the probability of war with Russia M. de Metternich counselled peace, saying, that great as was the Emperor Napoleon, fortune might betray him, and that although the chances were doubtless in his favor it would be wiser not to tempt her; and that if the Emperor should happily incline to this opinion, he, M. de Metternich, would rejoice to become the mediator between him and Russia, and believed that he would be a successful one; that as for Austria she was worn out, and had great need of repose, and that she could only be induced to afford aid to France, in opposition to the whole spirit of the nation, by a reward that would be worthy of such an effort.

Such language showed that at the price of a province an Austrian army might be obtained as a Russian army had formerly been obtained at the price of Finland. But M. Otto at Vienna, and M. de Bassano at Paris, were directed to be as obscure in their communications as M. de Metternich, to intimate that war was generally fruitful in consequences, that it was impossible to make a distribution of booty beforehand, but that those allies who were really useful to Napoleon had never gone unrewarded.

In Prussia the policy was not so. M. de Hardenberg, the chief Prussian minister, and his colleagues, had devised a plan, since become a permanent one in Prussia, by which Prussia might have many troops whilst appearing to have but few. We must remember that a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit prohibited Prussia from having more than 42,000 men under arms. To evade this article fresh bodies of troops were successively enrolled and drilled, as quickly and well as possible, and then dismissed to their avocations to make room for others. By this means 150,000 were rendered available instead of only 42,000, the number fixed by the treaty. At the same time all the youth of the upper and middle classes, nobles and citizens, priests and philosophers, united themselves into secret societies, which took various names, such as Ligne de la Vertu, Ligne Germanique, in which vows were taken to be entirely devoted to the cause of Germany, to live but for her, to forget every difference of class or province, to acknowledge only Germans, to speak no language but German, to wear nothing but what was of German manufacture, to cultivate and cherish only German art, and, in short, to devote to Germany every faculty.

Situated on such a volcano the position of the King and of M. de Hardenberg was one of cruel perplexity. Scruples of conscience rendered the former unwilling to break with Napoleon, to whom he was engaged by the most solemn protestation of fidelity, made in the hope of saving the remains of his monarchy; and the latter, in a position similar to that of M. de Metternich, was endeavouring to discover which line of conduct would be most advantageous to his country.

In the meantime the German party was urgent for the adoption of a patriotic perfidy, according to the plan of which Prussia was to arm extensively, under pretext of the threatening appearance of affairs in Europe, to induce Napoleon to consent to this by conferring with him respecting an alliance, to promise and sign anything, and at the last moment to unite with the Russians to overwhelm the French,

whilst the whole of Germany would arise against them in their rear.

The King, M. de Hardenberg, and some of the wiser spirits considered this plan as absurd, and only adopted that portion of it which was free from perfidy. They resolved to arm, and by means of the expedient we have already pointed out, although restricted to 42,000 effective troops, had in a very short time 100 or 120,000. But although they could equivocate respecting the number of their disposable troops, they could not conceal some of their preparations, such as, for example, those that were made in the fortifications which Prussia still retained. The intention of the King and M. de Hardenberg was, when they could no longer keep their preparations secret to acknowledge them, to avow their motive to lie in the project imputed to Napoleon of commencing the Russian war by suppressing the remains of the Prussian monarchy, and to place France in the alternative of either accepting their sincere alliance at the price of a solemn guarantee of their national existence and the restitution of various territories, or of having them bitter enemies, prepared to fight to the last man in defence of their independence.

Matters had now arrived at such a point that it was necessary to speak openly, for dissimulation both on the one side and the other was no longer possible. Napoleon, in fact, had already ordered Marshal Davoust to hold himself in readiness to march the division Friant upon the Oder, in order to cut off the King of Prussia and his army from the Vistula, to seize him and the greater part of his troops at the first hostile movement, and to prepare three parks of artillery which would be capable of taking in a few days Spandau, Graudentz, Colberg, and Breslau. Having given these orders he had directed M. de Saint-Martin, the French ambassador, peremptorily to demand an explanation of the Cabinet of Berlin, to require under the form of an ultimatum an immediate and complete disarming, and, should this ultimatum not be accepted, to withdraw, giving into the hands of Marshal Davoust the monarchy of Frederic the Great.

The state of affairs in Denmark and Sweden were of no less serious an aspect. Denmark, compelled in common with the rest of the European shore to comply with the laws of the continental blockade, was as faithful to those laws as could be expected from a state defending the cause of another; for, although Denmark regarded the cause of the neutrals as her own, in the state which affairs had now reached the cause of the neutrals had unfortunately disappeared in another, that of Napoleon's ambition. Denmark, composed of islands, and having a portion of its fortune in

other isles situated beyond the ocean, could only exist by means of the sea, and considered it hard that, for the purpose of being free at some future time it should be completely deprived of freedom at the present. But the natural probity of the government and the country, the remembrance of the disaster of Copenhagen, the natural hatred to England, and the courage of the reigning prince, all concurred to render Denmark the most faithful ally of France in the great matter of the continental blockade. But although this was the general spirit of the country, the infidelity of some and the sufferings of others prevented it from being universal. Altona, especially, situate at some steps from Hamburg, served as a means for the continuance of communications with England. The merchants of Hamburg, become French in spite of themselves, and as such submitted to the rigorous laws of the blockade, exposed, moreover, to the inflexible severity of Marshal Davoust, and fearing (as sometimes happened) that their books would be examined to discover whether they still maintained commercial relations with England, had made Hamburg the residence of their families, and had kept at Altona their offices, books, and correspondence. By means of smugglers and contrabandists, whose proceedings were much favoured by the form of the country, Holstein was filled with colonial produce, and Napoleon, taking the same measures in regard to it as he had formerly taken with regard to Holland, had attempted to empty this depôt by granting permission for the introduction of this colonial produce into the empire during two months on payment of a duty of fifty per cent. This plan had succeeded, and had produced thirty millions of receipts. Holstein was emptied and was no longer a magazine of English colonial produce. Contraband traffic was, therefore, almost entirely suppressed in this quarter. Denmark had furnished us with more than three thousand excellent soldiers for the Antwerp fleet.

One motive of its fidelity to us was its fear of Sweden; which country having lost Finland rather by the extravagance of her king than the insufficiency of her arms, entertained the culpable idea of recompensing herself for this loss by taking Norway from Denmark. Napoleon had shown himself inflexible upon this point. But to comprehend this other European complication, it is necessary to be acquainted with the circumstances of a new revolution which had taken place some months since in Sweden, the country which, after Florence, has been the most fertile in revolutions.

Wearied of the follies of Gustavus IV. the Swedish people relieved themselves by a military revolution of this mad king, who had since wandered about Europe an object of

general pity, whilst his uncle, the Duke of Sudermaine, reigned at Stockholm as wisely as the difficulties of the times would permit. At his request Napoleon had granted peace to Sweden, on condition that she should immediately declare war with England, close her ports against British commerce, and comply with all the regulations of the continental blockade. Then for the purpose of having peace with Russia and France, Sweden had been compelled to abandon Finland to the first, and to sacrifice her commerce to the second. At this price she had recovered Swedish Pomerania, and her commercial relations with the continent. But of what value to her was permission to introduce merchandise of every kind into continental Europe if she had lost by war with England the ability to receive them?

Sweden had escaped from her embarrassment, as is usual with the weak, by means of deceit. She had only made a fictitious declaration of war against England; had closed against her her ports but left open to her the chief of them, and the most advantageously situated, that of Gothenbourg. This port, situated in the Cattegat, opposite the coasts of Great Britain, at the entrance of a deep gulf, presented infinite conveniences for the strange system of contraband traffic devised at this period. The English fleet, under Admiral Saumarez, was stationed either at the isle of Anholt, or in the various mouths of the gulf. Under the protection of the British flag hundreds of vessels undisguisedly deposited on the coast of Sweden their cargoes of sugars, coffees, cottons, and all the products of Birmingham and Manchester. This merchandise, exchanged for the products of the North, and sometimes also for the silks of Italy, were carried to every part of the Baltic shore under various pretended neutral flags, and especially under that of America. But the principal scene of this commerce on the continent was the port of Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania. Introduced into this port as Swedish merchandise, English products had free entrance into Germany since the establishment of peace between France and Sweden.

It was thus that Sweden eluded the conditions of its peace with France. But such facts, concealed for a moment, could not long remain hidden from Napoleon. Moreover, a new complication had added to the singularities of this strange state of affairs. The Duke of Sudermaine, uncle of Gustavus IV., had no children. The most simple plan would have been to make the son of the dethroned king heir to the throne. But the party of the deposed monarch had rendered itself so hateful to the nation that it was quite impossible to re-establish the inheritance of the throne in the family of Wasa,

by adopting as its future king the son of Gustavus IV. In this dilemma the new king, Charles XIII., had adopted a Danish prince, the Duke of Augustenbourg, and *beaux frere* of the King of Denmark. The crown of Denmark was itself threatened with a failure of heirs, for the King of Denmark had no offspring. Many sensible persons in Sweden, seeing that both the thrones at Stockholm and Copenhagen would probably soon become vacant, and perceiving the progressive decadence of their country, threatened by Russia by land, and by England by sea, believed that a renewal of the famous reunion of the three kingdoms was the only means of securing their greatness and independence. This was true policy, and pointed to that which the Swedes ought to have desired for themselves and Europe have desired for the Swedes. Unhappily, although a certain national instinct supported this idea, amongst the peasants, who formed the liberal order, the union of Calmar, was associated with only sad remembrances; and their new king, therefore, not daring to adopt the King of Denmark himself, adopted his beaux-frere, destined at a later period to ascend the Danish throne.

The Duke of Augustenbourg, thus destined one day to wear the three crowns of the North, was possessed of no pleasing qualities, but of many of a nature to procure esteem. Before he had time, however, to acquire the respect of the Swedish people, he was suddenly carried away from amongst them, suddenly falling dead from his horse at a review. It was fully proved that his death proceeded from natural causes alone, but the Swedish people inspired with a sudden burst of sympathy for a prince so suddenly struck down, persuaded themselves that the criminality of interested parties had snatched away this object of their growing affection. With the usual violence of popular passion, they pointed out as the committers of this crime the chief persons of the party of the deposed King, and hurled against them the most atrocious threats, which were happily without effect, except in the case of the Comte de Fersen whom the populace murdered in the public streets.

In proportion as the aspect of affairs became more grave the enlightened persons of the nation, with Charles XIII. at their head, became the more inclined to the union of the three crowns, and were tempted to take another step in pursuit of this policy, either by adopting the cousin and heir apparent of the King of Denmark, Prince Christian, or by adopting the King of Denmark himself. But in the midst of the conflict of ideas arising from the various proposals, there were some persons, and their number increased every day, who had turned their thoughts in another direction, many Swedes

favourably inclined towards France by their fondness for the French revolutionary ideas, by their military enthusiasm, and by that long existing instinct which always inclined the two countries towards each other, entertained the idea that in the existing state of circumstances the best plan would be to apply to him by whom thrones were raised or overthrown, Napoleon. The feeling respecting him in Sweden was similar to that which had been felt towards him in Spain before the revolution of Bayonne, and was an extraordinary blending of admiration, fascination, and adulation for his talents both military and civil. To address him, therefore, with the purpose of obtaining from him either one of his princes or one of his captains, was an idea even more popular than that of uniting the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and was particularly gratifying to the warlike feelings of the Swedes.

The reigning King, entirely devoted to the policy of the union of the three kingdoms, but perceiving the necessity of having the support of France, had sent a confidential messenger to Napoleon with a letter with which he informed him of the feeling which existed in favour of the union of the three crowns; declared that it was in his opinion the best policy that could be selected, but that he was unwilling to do anything without consulting the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, the powerful Emperor of the French, and if that he approved he would choose his sovereign from amongst the Princes of Denmark, but that if he disapproved, he, the King of Sweden, hoped that he would grant to Sweden, who would accept the gift with transport, either one of the princes of his own family, or one of the illustrious warriors under his command. In addition to this letter the secret envoy was directed to insist that Napoleon should himself bestow a king upon Sweden.

Napoleon was more embarrassed than flattered by this message. He had found that he was compelled to support at a heavy charge the new kings whom he created, and that, in spite of all that they cost him they were little less compliant than those he had deposed, being obliged as they were, to make themselves the instruments of their peoples' resistance. He was not anxious, therefore, to take upon himself new difficulties of this kind. Moreover he had given sufficient umbrage to Europe, by the creation of French departments at Hamburg and Lubeck, without aggravating it by the elevation to the throne of Sweden of a French Prince, who might very probably speedily become an enemy. Napoleon had, therefore, immediately replied that he had no prince or general to offer to the Swedes, and that he had no ambitious projects at that moment either for his own family or for his

lieutenants; that should he comply with the request made Europe might be offended, and that the policy which held in view the ultimate union of the three crowns of the North appeared to him to be the best, and the most worthy of the excellent prince who reigned at Stockholm; that for himself he asked no more than that Sweden should be the faithful ally of France, and aid her against England by an exact compliance with the laws of the continental blockade.

When this answer had arrived Charles XIII. no longer hesitated to follow his own inclinations, and resolved to adopt the brother of the lately deceased prince, the Duke of Augustenbourg. But a new incident had again complicated the circumstances attending this choice. The King of Denmark, Frederic VI., desiring not only the union of the three crowns, but that they should be united on his own head, had prohibited the Duke of Augustenbourg from accepting the adoption with which he was honoured, and had openly, in frank and noble terms, for the sake, he said, of the peoples of the three kingdoms, solicited the adoption of Charles XIII.

The union so boldly presented to their notice, and associated, moreover, with a King of Denmark, whose position offended Swedish pride, whilst his real or supposed character frightened the numerous partisans of the new ideas, had caused a species of agitation, and the confusion in men's minds became greater than ever. In this strange position of affairs, which was prolonged during the whole of the year 1810, public feeling, becoming constantly more fluctuating and more perplexed, had turned once more towards Napoleon, without being able to penetrate his designs, and employed itself in conjecturing what prince or general Napoleon could bestow upon Sweden. There was one man, Marshal Bernadotte, both a warrior and a prince, allied to the Imperial family by means of his wife, sister of the Queen of Spain, who had sojourned for some time on the frontiers of Sweden, and had contracted relations with many Swedes; and having been directed to threaten Sweden with an expedition and to assist the Russians in Finland, and at the same time receiving secret orders not to act, he had permitted the Swedes to believe that his inaction was the result of his own goodwill towards them. Courting on all occasions all those with whom he came in contact, moved by a vague feeling of ambition which led him to watch all the thrones that were vacant or were likely to become so, he had made friends amongst the Swedish nobility whose tastes were military. Knowing both how to flatter others and to set forth his own merits, he had persuaded some persons to regard him as an accomplished prince. The name of old General Bernadotte

was, therefore, mentioned by some persons as that of a man dear to Napoleon, having rendered him immense military services, and who would obtain for Sweden, besides great renown, the thorough friendship of France.

This idea was rapidly propagated, and in the meantime a last incident, as singular as those which had already signalised this singular dynastic revolution, had occurred, and was not of a nature to enlighten the Swedes respecting the wishes or intentions of the French Emperor. Our chargé d'affaires, M. Desangiers, was deprived of his post for having held a conversation with a Swedish personage, from which it might be concluded that France was inclined to the union of the three crowns. This solicitude to disavow an idea, which nevertheless was its own, proved how determined France was not to manifest her opinion. What then did she desire?

In the midst of this cruel state of embarrassment, the King, having to submit a proposal to the *comite* of the assembled states, had presented three candidates; the Duke of Augustenbourg, the King of Denmark, and the Prince of Ponte-Corvo (Bernadotte). The *comité des etats*, under the influence of M. d'Adlersparre, the head of the revolutionary and military party that had dethroned Gustavus IV., had adopted, as the wisest and least hazardous resolution, the adoption of the Duke of Augustenbourg, brother of the prince lately deceased. This candidate had eleven votes, and the Prince of Ponte-Corvo only one.

Matters were in this state when there suddenly arrived an old French merchant, long established at Gottenburg, where he had not been successful in his commercial transactions, and who was an excellent agent in elections. Sent by the Prince of Ponte-Corvo with letters and funds, he was directed to set at work every agency in support of the French candidate. In a very short time the most extraordinary rumours were afloat. It was whispered about that it needed very little penetration to discover the true wishes of France, wishes which she was compelled to conceal for political reasons sufficiently apparent, and that these evidently pointed to the elevation to the throne of Sweden of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, that illustrious general and wise counsellor, who had been the inspirer of Napoleon in his most successful campaigns, and in his greatest acts of policy. This comedy, played with much tact, was perfectly successful; and within a few hours the new opinion had spread so widely, that it involved the government and the assembly of the states, the King was compelled to renew the presentation he had made, the comité electoral to reverse its vote, and in a single night the Prince

of Ponte-Corvo was proposed and elected almost unanimously, Prince Royal, heir apparent to the crown of Sweden.

Every circumstance attending this revolution was to be equally strange. When the secret agent, who contrived this sudden electoral reversal, set out from Paris, Napoleon, fearing that he might abuse the name of France, had charged the Minister of Foreign Affairs to disavow him, but the disavowal had arrived at Stockholm too late. The prince chosen to be the ally of France (we shall speedily see how much he was so) was already elected. Napoleon, on learning of this election smiled with a sort of bitterness, as though he had penetrated into the depths of the future; but he spoke of it with a kind of indifference, having absolute faith in his own strength, and regarding the ingratitude which he foresaw as one of the ornaments of the career of a great man. He received with mingled hauteur and benignity his old general, Bernadotte, when he came to solicit that approbation which was absolutely necessary to him as regarded Sweden; he told him that he was a stranger to his elevation, for that his policy did not permit him to interfere in the matter, but that he regarded it with pleasure as an homage rendered to the glory of the French arms; that he felt convinced that Marshal Bernadotte, a leader of his armies, would never forget what was due to his country, and in this confidence he concurred in the election made by the Swedes, and, as he was unwilling that a Frenchman should make abroad an appearance which was not worthy of the dignity of France, he had ordered M. Mollien to supply him with the funds of which he might have need.

Immediately after his arrival at Stockholm the Prince of Ponte-Corvo devoted himself to flattering all parties, and pretending in turn to hold the opinions of each. For some time this conduct was possible, and might succeed up to the moment when the bursting forth against us of a storm of universal hatred would render the part of irreconcilable hatred against France also successful. In the meantime, being desirous of immediately gratifying Swedish pride, the Prince Royal of Sweden, with the precipitation of a new comer, had devised a strange overture to make to the French minister, and which proved what an idea he had formed of political fidelity.

It was at this period, as we have already said, that Napoleon prepared, without hurrying his proceedings, for a campaign against Russia. In every direction there were rumours of a great war in the North. The Prince Royal of Sweden displaying on this occasion an affected devotion towards France, said to our minister that he saw very plainly what was in preparation, and that there would soon be a great

war; he referred to the important services he had rendered in the war of 1807 (and it must be admitted that his services on that occasion were important), observed that such a war must be dangerous and difficult, that it would render necessary to Napoleon powerful alliances, that a Swedish army thrown into Finland, almost at the gates of St. Petersburgh, would be an immense assistance, but that there was little probability that this province could be recovered, that its recovery was considered hopeless amongst the Swedes who regarded Norway as the natural and necessary recompense for its loss; and declared that if Napoleon would at once secure Norway to Sweden he would place the Swedes at his entire disposal. He had the hardihood to conclude by threatening his immediate hostility should his proposition not be accepted, and after having shown how he could serve took pains to point out how he could injure.

The French minister hastened to write to Paris for the answer which he should make to such a proposition. Napoleon, let it be said to his praise, on receiving this information made a movement of indignation which had great results. He blushed with indignation and contempt at such a proposition, and addressed on the subject to his Minister for Foreign Affairs one of the best and most honorable letters he ever wrote in his life, expressing his regret at the foolish line of conduct adopted by the new Prince Royal, declaring that to betray Denmark would be a crime which was to France impossible; and that as to the services offered, or the injuries threatened, France feared no enemy and was dependent on no ally. He recommended M. Alguer, our minister, not to wound the prince, but to make him understand that his precipitancy and the tone which he had adopted were a mistake, and that no answer would be given to him with respect to the subjects on which he had touched so lightly, since he was only the heir apparent. Napoleon further directed his minister to assure the King and his ministers that all that France expected of Sweden was fidelity to treaties, especially to the last treaty of peace which was being at that moment scandalously violated, and that he especially required the total suppression of the depôt at Gottenbourg, on neglect of which war would recommence, and Swedish Pomerania, but recently restored, would again be seized as a pledge to compel Sweden to return to its duty. By the same courier Napoleon recommended Denmark, without giving any reason, to maintain numerous bodies of troops in Norway.

Such was the state of affairs in Europe on the eve of that great and last struggle on which Napoleon was now about to enter. The most complete external submission covered the bitterest secret hatred, and where there was not

hatred there was embarrassment. Thus our German allies, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Baden, whilst they prepared the contingents demanded of them, trembled in secret at the hatred which they saw to be occasioned by the conscription. Attached to the cause of Napoleon both by their fears and their interests they were earnestly desirous that he should not expose himself to fresh hazards, and on this account were extraordinarily terrified at the idea of the approaching war. The King of Wurtemberg especially, considering that alone good which increased either his revenues or his territory, having as much energy as spirit, and always expressing his candid opinion to the all powerful protector of the confederation of the Rhine, had addressed to him some objections relative to the preparations for the new war, and to the contribution of the Wurtemberg contingent demanded for Dantzic. Napoleon had immediately replied to him by a long and curious letter, in which was displayed all the strange fatality under the control of which he ran into new hazards. He said that he preferred to have German rather than French troops at Dantzic, as they excited less umbrage, and that it was impossible not to take up a position at Dantzic, since it was the true base of operations for a campaign in the North; that this campaign would not spring from his, Napoleon's wishes, but from the fantasy of a young warlike prince who was anxious to make a brilliant début in the world; that it was possible this campaign might be delayed a year, but was inevitable, and that it would have been very ill judged to have allowed the confederation to have been surprised by an enemy who had been permitted to make his preparations with impunity; that he had, therefore, obeyed necessity and not his own will, and demanded the two Wurtemberg battalions necessary to complete the garrison of Dantzic.

News now arrived from the East, and information arrived respecting the manner in which the first overtures had been received at Constantinople. Moldavia and Wallachia had been saved, but it was not so easy to convert the Turks into allies. In fact, on seeing that Russia was compelled to withdraw a portion of her forces, they had promised to make no concessions for the sake of having peace with her, but, distrusting us as much as M. de Metternich had said, they had scrupulously declined to listen to any proposal of alliance with us. Peace was their only object, and they awaited with impatience the day when Russia, pressed hard by Napoleon, would be constrained to conclude with her an advantageous peace, and regarded that only as advantageous which should cost them no part of their territory. Russia, taking into

consideration the probable course of events, had addressed to her a proposition that she should retain Bessarabia and Moldavia and restore to Turkey Wallachia. She had demanded, besides, the independence of Servia. The Turks, however, perceived that the time was fast approaching when Russia would not be able to leave any of her troops on the Danube, and had rejected all these offers, demanding in all its integrity the *status ante bellum*. In the meantime they dissembled their secret resentment against France, whilst at the same time their care not to engage themselves to her was so great, that they eluded even the overtures of Austria, displaying no less evasion with regard to her than with us, and showing in every portion of their conduct that if they had lost that savage energy of character in which had formerly consisted their greatness, they were gaining every day greater skill in political finesse.

Whilst employed in making his diplomatic as well as military preparations for the great war in the North, Napoleon had taken pains to arrange the domestic affairs of the empire, so as to leave no source of embarrassment behind him during an absence of which he could not foresee the duration. He had desired, as we have already said, to assemble the Council by means of which he hoped to bring the religious differences to an end, on the day of the baptism of the King of Rome. It had appeared to him very proper to join to all the bodies of the state, assembled around the cradle of his son, the Catholic church itself, and to have consecrated by her the title of King of Rome, which had been given to the heir of the new empire. But the Bishops, either because they objected to entering into this species of engagement, or because the reason they alleged was sincere, declared that the greater number of them were too aged to endure the fatigue of a double ceremony on the same day, and the assembly of the Council was deferred until the day after the baptism. The Bishops, accordingly, were only to assist at the baptism individually, and not as a body representing the church.

The 9th of June was the day selected for the solemn ceremony of the baptism of the King of Rome. Every preparation had been made to render this ceremony worthy the greatness of the Empire, and the vast fortunes to which the young king appeared to be destined. On the evening of the 8th of June Napoleon arrived at Paris, followed by the Kings of his family, and by the Duke of Wurzbourg, who had been sent by the Emperor of Austria to represent him at the baptism of his grandson. All the population of Paris had thronged around the superb cortége, already partly consoled for their commercial sufferings by a marked renewal of

industrial activity, and the immense orders of the civil list and the war department. Paris still applauded her Emperor, although her applause was not like that of earlier times; she still applauded him, being always dazzled and fascinated whenever she saw him, always marvelling at his fortune and his glory, always carried away, as all populations are, by the excitement of grand fêtes. Paris blazed with triumphal fires; all the theatres were open gratis to the crowding multitudes; the public places were covered with gifts offered to the people of Paris by the happy father of the King of Rome; and that which contributed more than anything else to the general satisfaction was, that the delay of the war until another year enabled them to hope that it might be avoided altogether.

On the following day, the 9th of June, Napoleon, accompanied by his wife and his family, conducted his son to Notre-Dame, and presented him to the ministers of religion. A hundred Bishops and twenty Cardinals, the senate, the legislative body, the mayors of the large towns, and the representatives of Europe filled the sacred enclosure where the imperial infant was to receive the waters of baptism. When the Pontiff had concluded the ceremony and given the King of Rome into the hands of the gouvernante of the children of France, Madame de Montesquiou, the latter transferred him to Napoleon, who, taking him in his arms and elevating him above his head, presented him in this manner to the magnificent assembly which assisted at the ceremony with a visible emotion which speedily became general. This spectacle moved all hearts.

How great is the mystery which surrounds human life. How grievously would the spectators have been surprised if, behind this scene of prosperity and grandeur, they could suddenly have beheld a crowd of ruins, torrents of blood and fire, the flames of Moscow, the ice of the Beresina, Leipzig, Fontainbleau, the isle of Elba, Saint Hélena, and finally, the death of this august infant at eighteen years of age, in exile, unpossessed of a single one of those crowns which were now accumulated on his head; and could they have beheld, besides, all those other revolutions by which his family was still to be raised up after having been overthrown.

Leaving the metropolis in the midst of an immense multitude, Napoleon repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where an imperial banquet had been prepared. On the following days fêtes of all kinds succeeded, for Napoleon was desirous to prolong as much as possible the manifestations of public joy. But the terrible destiny which disposes of the lives of the greatest as well as of the humblest of mortals, and hurries

them on unceasingly to the end assigned to their career, would not allow to him any long delay. The most serious affairs, inextricably interwoven with each other, demanded in uninterrupted succession his entire attention. On the 9th of June he had attended the baptism of his son, and on the 16th of June it was necessary to convoke the council.

We have observed at the commencement of this book the motives which induced Napoleon to convoke a council. An ecclesiastical commission composed of prelates, a civil commission composed of high political personages, and comprising amongst others the Prince Cambacérès, had examined and determined upon as follows, the numerous questions excited by the convocation of such a council.

In the first place, could a council be convoked without the sanction or the presence of the Pope? The history of the church left no doubt with respect to this question, since there had been councils convoked by Emperors against Popes, for the purpose of condemning unworthy Pontiffs, and others convoked by Popes against Emperors who oppressed the church. Moreover, good sense, which is the surest light in religious as well as other matters, pointed out that the church, having had to save itself, and having succeeded with rare skill sometimes from unworthy Popes, sometimes from tyrannical Emperors, it was necessary that it should possess a constitution independent of those whom it might have either to restrain or punish.

The next question was, whether the council should be œcumenical, that is, general, or only national. A general council would have had more authority, and would have been more agreeable to the extended policy and exalted imagination of Napoleon. But although Napoleon possessed within his Empire and the allied states the greater part of Christendom, there remained too many prelates beyond his power in Spain, Austria, some portions of Germany, and Poland, to permit him to brave the inconvenience of their absence or of their opposition. By convoking a council exclusively national, which would comprise the Bishops of the French Empire, those of Italy and a part of Germany, there would be assembled a most imposing council, and one which would perfectly suffice for the settlement of the questions which would be submitted to it.

If it had been necessary to submit to the council the great question respecting the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, an œcumenical council would have been the only one capable of determining it. But all that Napoleon at present required was the acquisition of a government for the churches, by obtaining the canonical institution of the Bishops he had nominated.

If he could, by means of a decision imposed on the Pope, or approved of by him, obtain the canonical institution of these Prelates, he would be freed from his embarrassment; for, desiring to undertake nothing contrary to the dogmas of the church, he had no reason to fear a schism.

The method of the nomination and canonical institution, not being uniform in the different countries of Christendom, and having, moreover, varied with the progress of ages, a question of local discipline had arisen which a national council would be able to settle, and this solution of it would satisfy Napoleon, for the Pope would by this means be deprived of the instrument he had used to put a stop to all Napoleon's ecclesiastical plans.

It was, therefore, determined, that a council consisting of the Prelates of Italy, France, Holland, and a part of Germany, should be convoked at Paris, at the commencement of June, and that to its consideration should be submitted the grave question which had arisen between the temporal power and the church. The question was to be presented in an imperial message, the general purport of which was that Napoleon, on becoming possessed of the government of France had found the Catholic religion in a state of decay, and had successfully exerted himself for its re-establishment; that it was perfectly manifest that since his first ascent to the throne he had not committed a single action derogatory to the faith, and that he had, on the contrary, taken many measures for its extension and protection;—that, nevertheless, an unfortunate dissension had arisen between the Pope and the Emperor.

Napoleon, reckoning Italy amongst the number of his conquests, had been desirous of establishing his power over it on a firm foundation and had, therefore, regarded the Pope in his character of temporal Sovereign of the Roman states, as an enemy open or concealed, but always intractable, who neglected no opportunity of destroying the power of the French in Italy. And with respect to the Pope, it was not as spiritual Sovereign, but as the temporal Sovereign of Rome that he had, for a question of simply material interest, quarrelled with the temporal Sovereign of the French Empire. And what was the arm which he had employed against him?—excommunication; a weapon either entirely powerless, and therefore, exposing by its use, the spiritual authority to contempt, or destructive of all authority and therefore tending to nothing less than to throw both France and Europe into anarchy.

On this point complaint was easy, and was well calculated to find an echo, for almost all the clergy, the exceptions being a few fanatics, had disapproved of the bull of excommunication, and amongst the enlightened persons of all the

states there had been none who had not said that the Papacy had made use of a weapon that was ridiculous if weak, and culpable if efficacious, and worthy of the anarchists of 1793.

Having found the bull of excommunication ineffectual, the Pope had used as his second weapon the refusal of canonical institution to the nominated Bishops. He had thus permitted the German Episcopate to fall into such a state of decay, that out of twenty-four German sees only eight were filled, whereby a great temptation was offered to the princes, for the most part Protestants, to possess themselves of the temporalities of these sees.

There was reason to fear that the Pope had caused the same thing in France, for there were already twenty-seven sees vacant, for which the Emperor had provided, but for which the Pope had refused to provide on his side by bestowing canonical institution on the nominated prelates. Could it be possible, then, that the Pope, for the purpose of preserving his temporal advantages, had put the church in peril and allowed spiritual interests to decay.

By refusing institution to the nominated prelates the Pope had violated the Concordat. The Concordat was, therefore, an abrogated treaty, and the parties to it were able to place themselves in the position of former times, when the Pope did not institute the Bishops, and when the Bishops, elected by the Faithful, were confirmed and consecrated by the Metropolitan. On this subject was the question which the Emperor, unwilling to determine it himself, submitted to the consideration of the assembled church, in order that it might provide for its own safety.

The form of the Council, and the question to be submitted to them, having been determined, the high personages who afforded Napoleon the assistance of their talent in ecclesiastical affairs, besought him to take one last step with regard to the Pope, to send to him two or three Prelates of high consideration, for the purpose of announcing to him the convocation of the Council, and to persuade him to render its task more easy by consenting in advance to certain resolutions, which, if consented to by him, would be unanimously agreed to.

Napoleon had already sent to Savoy the Cardinals Spina and Caselli, and the little success they had met with had induced him to consider all attempts of the kind as useless. He believed that the Prelates assembled at Paris and under his own immediate control would obey his will, and that they would sanction under his dictation, a decision which might be sent to the Pope clothed in the authority of the Council, and which he would not dare to resist.

Amongst the ecclesiastics to whose advice he had recourse were several of great authority and real merit, and in all respects worthy of attention; and these were M. de Barral, Archbishop of Tours, M. Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, M. Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, and some others.

M. de Barral was one of the most respectable and learned prelates, particularly well acquainted with the traditions of the French church, and possessed of much talent in the management of affairs. He had been agent-general of the clergy and enjoyed much authority. M. Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, formerly Professor in Sarbonne, and one of the most renowned of professors, added to a most profound acquaintance with ecclesiastical matters, an exalted intellect, extreme tact, and remarkable political talent —a talent which every day became rarer amongst the heads of the church, and which did not consist in the art of gaining the confidence of sovereigns for the purpose of governing them, but in that superior good sense which has enabled the church to adapt itself to the genius of the ages through which it has existed, and to pass through them victoriously. Finally, M. Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, inferior in talents to those just mentioned, was nevertheless a wise and learned man, and a judicious adviser.

MM. de Barral, Duvoisin, and Mannay, having no solicitude respecting their own interests, but deploring the dominating character of Napoleon, who wished to render the church dependent on the Empire, and profoundly afflicted at the violence which he had permitted himself to offer to the Holy Father, were nevertheless of opinion that being powerful as he was, and destined without doubt to found a dynasty, and being as he was of a temper extremely friendly to the church, it was necessary rather to guide and calm him than to irritate him by an opposition of which the moving principle might be easily divined, and which was neither religious nor liberal, but Royalist. As the church had employed intrigue for the purpose of obtaining power, might it not make use of prudence for the purpose of guiding a powerful man when its object was not power but existence? Many persons, moreover, feared to see in Napoleon a new Henry VIII. ready to drive the nation to a species of religious independence which must end in Protestantism.

Such were the reasons which induced the Prelates to treat Napoleon with great caution, although they deplored the senseless despotism which hurried him into wishing to change the constitution of the Holy See, and to place the church in a position of dependence on the Emperors as she had

been under Constantine. Aided by Cardinal Fesch and many of the Prelates assembled at Paris, they persuaded Napoleon to send to Savoy a new deputation, consisting of MM. de Barral, Duvoisin, Mannay, to make before the opening of the Council one conciliatory step towards the Pope.

These three Prelates were not to speak in the name of the Emperor, who was supposed to have sanctioned the mission without, however, having ordered it, but in the name of a crowd of Bishops already assembled in Paris, and desiring, before forming themselves into a council, to concert with the head of the church, in order, if possible, to proceed in conformity with his views. Certain of the Bishops, after having conferred amongst themselves and with Cardinal Fesch, had written letters to the Holy Father, in which, whilst professing the utmost devotion to him, and their anxiety to preserve the unity of the Catholic church, they had besought him to restore peace to the church now threatened by a new schism by the man who had re-established it, and who could save it.

M. the Archbishop of Tours, MM. the Bishops of Nantes and Trèves, were to present these letters to the Pope, and to propose to him, still in the name of the French clergy, that he should at once grant canonical institution to the twenty-seven Prelates nominated by the Emperor, in order that so many churches might not remain empty, and that a period might be put to the conflicts raised by the Vicars Capitular, and secondly, that he should add a clause to the Concordat relative to the canonical institution; according to which the Pope should be compelled to grant the institution within the space of three months, if he could not shew any cause which rendered the nominated persons unworthy of it. These three months having expired, the metropolitan, or, in his default, the oldest Prelate in the ecclesiastical province, was to be authorised to confer the canonical institution.

If there be any arrangement which is in especial conformity with good sense, with policy, and the respective rights of the Church and the State, it is incontestably that which confers the choice of Bishops on the temporal Sovereign of a country, and the confirmation of this choice on the head of the universal church under the form of canonical institution. A power such as that exercised, Bishops could only proceed from these two authorities, from the Imperial Sovereign in the first place, for he alone has the right to confer the right of exercising authority within the limits of his territory, and is, moreover, alone able to judge of the merits of his subjects; and in the next place from the Spiritual Sovereign, who should interfere to assure himself that the nominated persons

are in conformity with the Catholic faith. It is very true that a Pope may abuse canonical institution, as a temporal sovereign may abuse the power of nomination; each kind of abuse is possible, and has existed in unhappy times, from which, however, the church has escaped without perishing. But the destruction of the double tie which attaches the bishops both to the chief of the state and to the head of the church, would destroy that beautiful system which has permitted that there should exist in Christendom two governments, side by side, without any mutual interference or disparagement,—a religious government charged with the duty of directing the souls of men towards heaven, and a civil government charged with the duty of guiding them in the performance of the duties they owe to society.

The partisans of the opposite opinion, and that which was at this moment professed by Napoleon, who had thought differently at the period of signing the Concordat, appealed to ancient traditions, and the first ages of the church when Prelates were not instituted by the Pope, since in France the necessity of their institution by the Holy See had not been recognised until the Concordat of Francis I. and Louis X., and if search were made into ages still more remote, it would be found that the Bishops were neither nominated by the Sovereign nor instituted by the Pope; for in the simplicity of ancient times the faithful chose their shepherds and the metropolitan consecrated them. In the course of time this power had been gradually transformed from the faithful to the chapters, from the chapters to the kings, and the right of confirming the election, for the sake of the interests of religion, had been transformed from the simple metropolitan to him who was the metropolitan's metropolitan, namely, the Pope. If either of these primitive customs were revived, it would be necessary to revive the other, and to do this would be to proceed in a direction not only contrary to the course of time but also to reason.

A strange concession was therefore demanded of the Pope, when it was required of him that he should abandon the right of canonical institution. It is true that it was proposed that the Pope should be allowed three months to institute the nominated Prelates, and that he might reject those who were nominated, on the ground of unworthiness. But who was to be the ultimate judge of their worthiness? Evidently the Emperor; since if he insisted, the metropolitan would eventually institute them. In this way therefore, the right of institution would fall from the hands of the Pope. But at the present moment all minds were acutely sensible of the decay of the German church resulting from the vacancy of

almost all its sees, and of the danger which threatened the French church from the vacancy of a fourth part of its sees, and were vividly struck with the fact that Pius VII. made use of canonical institution as a defensive weapon, whereas its only legitimate purpose was to maintain the unity of the faith, by rejecting as Prelates persons unworthy either in respect to morals, learning, or orthodoxy.

The wisest course of proceeding would have been to have obtained from the Pope, by influencing either his amiability or his prudence, the institution of the twenty-seven Prelates nominated by the Emperor; to demand this of him for the sake of religion, and to ask of him no sacrifice of principle. He would thus have been only temporarily disarmed, it is true, but disarmed of a dangerous weapon.

However this might be, the Prelates who had charged the three envoys to speak in their name, supported the additional clause of the Concordat as strongly as Napoleon himself, who, indeed, set the maintenance of the Concordat at this price; and as this word *Concordat* had been rendered a sort of magic word signifying re-establishment of the altars, cessation from the persecution of the priests, and a thousand other benefits, so when Napoleon mentioned the abolishment of the Concordat, it appeared like an intimation of the abolition of all the guarantees given to religion, to worship, to the priests, and that in respect to all these things there would be a return to the state of affairs before the Concordat. By declaring, therefore, the abolition of the Concordat, should the new clause relative to the canonical institution not be accepted, he produced, as he desired, considerable excitement.

The three envoys were authorised, should they find the Pope more tractable than hitherto, to exceed the objects to which their mission was first confined, and to confer with the Holy Father respecting the position of the Holy See, the position of future Popes, and to proceed even so far as to sign a provisional convention on the subject; the conditions of which were to be as follows:—The Pope to reside at his pleasure either at Rome, Avignon, or Paris; to be provided with a magnificent establishment at the expense of the Empire; to enjoy a revenue of two millions without any deductions on account of the Papacy, the cardinals and all the ministers of the spiritual government being liberally maintained at the cost of the imperial treasury; to have power to receive ambassadors from all the Powers, and to maintain representatives at their courts; to have entire freedom in respect to the management of spiritual affairs; and that all that conduced to the prosperity, the renown, or the propagation

of Catholicism, should be maintained, extended or re-established. Foreign missions to be restored with all the support of the Empire; the fathers of the holy land to be protected, and the Latins restored to all the privileges of worship at Jerusalem. And to all this magnificence, to which only independence was wanting, Napoleon annexed but the one condition,—that if the Pope preferred to reside at Rome he should take to the Emperor the oath taken by all the Prelates of his empire, and that if this condition were too repugnant to him, and he could consent to reside at Avignon, he should simply promise to do nothing contrary to the principles contained in the declaration of 1682.

As the interval between the moment when Napoleon decided to send this deputation and the time for the assembly of the council was short, three Prelates departed in haste, having but a period of ten days in which to accomplish their mission.

M. the Archbishop of Tours, (de Barral), MM. the Bishops of Nantes (Duvoisin), and of Trèves (Mannay), set forth without delay for Savoy, and arrived there as soon as the means of travelling available at the period permitted.

The Pope, although resigned with rare gentleness to a captivity the sufferings of which had for some time been much aggravated, felt nevertheless the weight of his chains, and although he feared what they came to announce with respect to the council, he experienced a sort of satisfaction on learning that three Prelates endowed with the imperial confidence had been sent to confer with him. He knew how great was the influence and the merit of these men; he knew also that their opinions were contrary to those called in France ultramontane, and that this was equivalent to their being in some degree his enemies; but this was as nothing in his eyes in comparison with the important circumstance that they had come to him with some communication.

Pius VII. having learned from M. de Chabral the names of the three Prelates consented to admit them immediately to his presence. With greater reverence than if he had been at Rome on the throne of the Cæsars, the three envoys presented themselves before the Pontiff, almost asking pardon that they were not as captive as he was, and coming to entreat him to crown his virtues by adding to his other sacrifices some new and indispensable ones, by abandoning for the sake of religion certain prerogatives which were dear to him. The manner, the noble language, the respectful demeanour of these worthy Prelates deeply affected the Pontiff, and at the touch of the gratification he experienced, all the graces of his character sprang to light. He behaved

towards them with the utmost goodwill, and showed that he trusted them, especially when he found that instead of having assembled to judge him, the object of their council was to concert with him on the manner of putting an end to the religious troubles, and that it besought him to find some means of coming to an agreement with that power which had re-established the altars, and which, having the power to destroy them, had no desire, fortunately, of doing so, provided he met with no opposition in temporal matters.

The Pope and the three Prelates held frequent interviews, sometimes having several in one day, although the latter, taking into consideration the Pope's feeble health, used much discretion in their requests for fresh interviews; for when they had not ventured to come he sent for them. The Bishop of Faænza, nominated Patriarch of Venice, and at this moment at Savoy on his way to join the council, had demanded permission to join this species of ecclesiastical council, and by the consent of each party had been admitted, for he pleased the Pope as an Italian, and an Italian *fort spirituel*, and was not displeasing to the envoys as an Italian who desired the immediate pacification of the church.

The Pope having referred with dignity and moderation to the odious captivity in which the head of the church was plunged, the profound isolation, the deprivation of all counsel and all means of communication in which he was condemned to live, declared the affection he had felt for General Bonaparte, now the powerful Emperor of the French, and the difficulty of the journey he had undertaken for the purpose of consecrating him at Paris; and then, pointing to the walls which shut him in, remarked on the strange contrast between the services rendered and the price which had been paid for them. He then entered into the details of the question respecting which the representatives of the council were charged to treat with him.

Respecting the canonical institution of the twenty-seven nominated Prelates he appeared disposed to yield, cloaking his submission under a detail of form, and consenting to institute the twenty-seven nominated Prelates, omitting in the act the name of Napoleon, and at the same time omitting the mention of the *motu proprio*, which would have given the appearance of his having nominated them himself, in place of confirming only the nomination which emanated from the imperial authority. On this point Pius VII. was ready to yield, and to put an end to the cessation of ecclesiastical government in France, in order that he might no longer be charged with interrupting it on account of a matter purely

personal to himself; but with respect to the additional clause of the Concordat limiting the time during which canonical institution could be granted, he could not persuade himself to yield. At first he objected that the space of three months was too short; but he declared that whatever was the term, if the institution could finally be given by the metropolitan, the head of the church would be spoiled and deprived of one of his most precious prerogatives. To this the three Prelates replied, by referring to the events of past times, showing that the Pope had not always enjoyed the power of instituting the bishops; that six months, if three were thought to be too few, would suffice for enquiry into the fitness of the nominated persons; that it was not right to suppose that the power of nomination would be exercised foolishly in the choice of unworthy prelates; that to make the right of institution any more than the means of securing a good choice of persons, would be to render it a weapon capable of being used against the temporal authority, and no one, the envoys said, was willing to admit that this was its legitimate use.

The unfortunate Pius VII. who, with considerable powers of mind, had not sufficient force of reason, to rise to those great principles on which rests the double investiture of ecclesiastical pastors with both temporal and spiritual power, and who, moreover, when it was said that canonical institution was not to be a weapon in the hands of the Pope, perceived a reproach in this argument, because in fact many persons had reported to him that he was accused of sacrificing, by refusing bulls, the interests of religion to the interests of the Holy See, knew not how to answer, perceiving on the one hand that there ought not to be a power at Rome of abusing the right of canonical institution, whilst on the other hand he could not permit himself to resign one of the prerogatives with which he had found the Holy See provided; for to do this would be, in his eyes, a weakness with which he was unwilling at any price to sully his memory. And when it was represented to him that he was mistaken in supposing that his yielding on this point would be blamed by the Catholic world—and this was true, for people were not then as Roman as they claim to be at the present day—he replied, "But how do you suppose that I can judge of that, alone, imprisoned, deprived of all council? And to this argument, as true as it was sad, the three Prelates, indignant at his captivity, knew not what to answer, and were silent with tears in their eyes, or advised him to consult a Cardinal who was in the neighbourhood, and who was the only man whose assistance they were authorised to offer him.

The subject of the general establishment of the Papacy was

a still more difficult one. To propose to the Pope to consecrate by his consent the abolition of the temporal power of the Holy See, at the price of a rich endowment, and beautiful palaces in the imperial capitals, was to propose to him the most grievous and dishonourable of abdications. However he recognised the decree annexing the Roman states of the Empire, and it was necessary to foresee the fall of Napoleon, in order to be able not to regard this decree as irrevocable; and it was possible, therefore, and the Prelates made the attempt, to advise him on the grounds of prudence and the interests of the Holy See, to accept a recompense which at a later period it might not be possible to obtain, and which was, moreover, accompanied by so many advantages conducing to the protection and propagation of the Catholic faith. MM. de Barral and Duvoisin, whilst expressing sincere grief at Napoleon's proceedings, insisted much on the necessity of behaving cautiously towards a man who might so easily play in France the part acted by Henry VIII. in England; on the wisdom of taking advantage of those compensations, which he felt compelled to offer at the moment when he was despoiling the church, and which he would not, probably, care to grant when the annihilation of the Pope's temporal power would be no more than one of those catastrophes to which the world had been so habituated for the last twenty years; and above all insisted on the aid which would be obtained from him in the meantime in the propagation of the faith, when his unbridled ambition should have been satisfied. In reply to this the Pope acknowledged the difficulty of inducing Napoleon to retract his resolutions; and did not dispute the probable duration of his Empire (although he did not regard it as imperishable, and displayed remarkable doubts on the subject); but, without regard to any such mundane considerations, displayed, on the grounds of conscience and honour, an invincible repugnance to make the concessions demanded of him. To make the pontifical residence in Paris was especially repugnant to his feelings. "Napoleon desires," he said, "to make the successor of the Apostles his chief almoner, but he will never obtain from me so great a debasement of the Holy See. He thinks that he vanquishes me because he holds me in bonds, but he mistakes: I am old, and he will soon have nothing in his hands but the corpse of an old priest who died in chains."

To reside at Avignon, would, on account of its having been the residence of previous Popes in times of persecution, would have been more agreeable to Pius VII; but to acknowledge the declaration of 1682, which was on the condition on which he was to have his establishment there, would be

excessively painful to him, being full, as he was, of Roman prejudices. He constantly repeated that Alexander VIII. before his death had pronounced the condemnation of the propositions of Bossuet, and that to recognise and to subscribe to them would be regarded as a weak compliance torn from him by captivity. However, he made a distinction between the various propositions of Bossuet, and was ready to admit that which refused to the Pope the power of overthrowing temporal sovereigns by releasing subjects from their obedience. But he was full of scruples relative to the others, which declare, as we know, that the church is not an arbitrary government, that it has its laws which are the canons, that the authority of the Pope, although ordinarily superior to all other, meets sometimes with an authority superior to its own, namely, that of the church itself when assembled in œcumenical, or universal, councils. These maxims, which are but a fair abstract made by Bossuet of ecclesiastical history, and which place the church at the head of legal and regular governments, instead of degrading it to the rank of a despotic and arbitrary government, agitated Pius VII. and threw him into deep anxiety. "I will do nothing contrary to these maxims," he said, "for I have given my word of honour that I will not, and it is well known that I am an honourable man; but it should not be attempted to force me to sanction them by a formal acknowledgment, for I prefer remaining in prison to committing such a weakness." To return to Rome, even deprived of his temporal crown, was the object of the Pope's most earnest desire; for to re-enter Rome without a single sovereign honour, would have seemed to him almost equivalent to his re-establishment upon the chair of St. Peter. But to return to Rome at the price of an oath which would constitute him the subject of Napoleon, and force him to sanction the spoliation of St. Peter's patrimony, was more impossible to him than anything which had yet been demanded of him. "I demand no dotation," he said, "and I desire none. I do not ask for the Vatican but for the Catacombs. Let me be permitted to return with some old priests to assist me with their counsels, and I will continue my pontifical functions, submitting myself to the authority of Cæsar, even as the first apostles, and doing nothing either to disturb or to destroy it." But notwithstanding the sincerity of the Pope's humility, it was very evident that he indulged in the hope that in his abject condition he would be more powerful than when seated on the throne of St. Peter's, and from the depths of the catacombs hold Napoleon in check, and probably survive his colossal empire.

The tendency of his thoughts in this direction was very evident, and even avowed with naive ardour. But MM. de Barral, Duvoisin, and Mannay permitted him to entertain no illusion on the subject. They made him thoroughly understand that they would never allow him to return as a dethroned prince to a capital in which he had reigned as a sovereign, unless he returned recompensed and reconciled.

These explanations occupied many days. The envoys, to whom was now added the Bishop of Faenza, had succeeded in rendering Pius VII. much more tractable, and had made him understand that if he himself preferred captivity to making the least concession, he should be careful lest he deprived the church of advantages it could never recover. And in the last place they made him understand that at the close of May they should be compelled to depart to assist at the opening of the Council, fixed to take place at the commencement of June, and that it was necessary that he should come to his determination, and enable them to declare it to the assembled Prelates.

After having enumerated the various questions and repeated to him their opinion upon each, after having persuaded him to say that he was not averse to the institution of the twenty-seven nominated Prelates, and that desiring, even at the price of a great sacrifice, to give the church of France a testimony of confidence and affection, he would acknowledge, without renouncing canonical institution, that it was necessary to prevent the abuse which might be made of it by an ill-advised or malevolent Pontiff; and, finally, after having obtained from him an avowal that he would, when free, and assisted by his natural and legitimate counsellors, at least deliberate respecting the new establishment offered to the church, they persuaded him to consent to the drawing up of a declaration containing—first, his consent, for this time, to institute the twenty-seven nominated Prelates, without mention of the *proprio motu*; secondly, a declaration that for the future the Holy See should be bound to institute within six months the Bishops nominated by the temporal power, and that in its default the metropolitan should be considered authorised by the Pope to institute in his name; thirdly, a statement of the Pope's readiness, when he should be free and surrounded by his Cardinals, to listen to arrangements that should be submitted to him for the definitive establishment of the Holy See. The nature of these arrangements was not even indicated.

On the 20th of May the envoys took leave of the Pope, who parted with regret from these wise Prelates, since so unworthily calumniated by a portion of the clergy, and gave

them his benediction with affectionate earnestness. But he was much agitated, and during the night following their departure he persuaded himself that he had been guilty of a weakness, and that all Christendom would regard it as such, and accuse him of having, from fear of Napoleon or weariness of captivity, abandoned the interests of the Faith. This fear arose chiefly out of the last proposition, by which he had engaged himself eventually, when he should be free and provided with counsel, to examine the propositions which should be made to him relative to the pontifical establishment. He feared that he had thus in some degree agreed to the suppression of the temporal power of the Holy See, and the annexation of the Roman States to the French empire; and this idea threw him into such a state of trouble and despair that, having had the prefect summoned, and having learned from him that the Prelates had already left Savoy, besought him to send a courier after them and recall them, and to signify to them, should they decline to return, that the declaration must be regarded as invalid, as he had been surprised by his feebleness, his weariness, and failing health; and added—"See what it is to deprive a poor priest, aged and worn out, of the counsels which should enlighten him. He is thus exposed to the danger of covering himself with infamy. . ."

The prefect succeeded in tranquillising the Pontiff to some extent by proving to him that the two first propositions were, after all, conformable to what he had always thought and always said, and that as for the third, it was but a promise to examine, and contained no indication of any definite arrangement. Nevertheless, for the purpose of satisfying the Pope respecting this last point, the prefect sent a courier with a message that the paragraph in the declaration relating to the last proposition was to be held absolutely null; and that with regard to the remainder of it, the Pope still adhered to it, provided it were regarded neither as a treaty nor an engagement, but simply as a basis for negotiation. This being done Pius VII. grew calm again, and wrote to Cardinal Fesch a letter, in which, heaping praises on the three Prelates, and authorising the Council to place implicit confidence in their report, he expressed almost the same disposition as that which we have just pourtrayed.

When the Prelates sent to Savoy had returned to Paris, Napoleon was sufficiently well satisfied with the result of their mission, for the government of the church was no longer threatened with interruption, and all fear of schism had entirely vanished.

Almost all the Prelates had now arrived and amounted to nearly a hundred, of whom almost thirty were Italian.

Those who had failed to come were either infirm old men, incapable of making a long journey, or some Roman bishops who had refused the oath on account of the overthrow of the pontifical government. The disposition of the Prelates was of a nature to deceive the government and to deceive themselves respecting the result of the council. Although full of earnest compassion for the misfortunes of Pius VII., disapproving entirely of the abolition of the imperial power of the Holy See, and urged to discontent by the coteries of devoted Royalists in the midst of whom most of them habitually dwelt, they were very careful not to manifest their sentiments, especially since the catastrophe of the *black cardinals*. And those were generally the most hostile who were the most submissive, for in their terror they believed that Napoleon was almost as well acquainted with the secrets of their hearts as God himself, whilst they did not believe that he was as clement. Yet, although it needed but a slight spark to inflame all these sentiments concealed at the bottom of hearts, there was no one in the government of Napoleon capable of foreseeing the explosion which must be the result. M. Bigot de Préameneu, an honest and temperate minister, had no acquaintance with deliberative assemblies; and Napoleon himself, although in the habit of divining that of which he was ignorant, believed that he would manage his bishops as he had managed the members of his legislative corps. He troubled himself little more respecting his difference with the Pope, than with a difference which he had had with the grand Duke of Baden, although he was annoyed at this *querelle de pretres* as he called it, and which was a quarrel which had continued too long and obstinately for his taste. The Duke of Rovigo alone had been prudent enough to gain the confidence of several of the prelates, and, knowing how much the Royalists of Paris exerted themselves to win over the members of the Council, had conceived some apprehensions, which he imparted to Napoleon. But the Emperor, having always available Vincennes, his grenadiers, and his good fortune, and being blinded by the effect produced, by the birth of the King of Rome, an effect which equalled the éclat produced by his greatest victories, disregarded the apprehensions thus presented to his notice.

On Monday the 17th of June, the Council was assembled at the church of Notre Dame. At the earnest entreaty of Cardinal Fesch, who had assumed the right of presiding over the Council, by virtue of being Archbishop of Lyons, the Prelates agreed to grant him this honour; not so much because he was primate of Gaul, as because they wished to commence the operations of the Council by an act of defer-

ence to the Emperor. It had also been determined to follow the ceremonial adopted at the Council of Embrun in 1727, and that its members should take the oath of fidelity to the Holy See, which, since the Council of Trent, had been imposed on every assembly of Prelates, provincial, national, or general.

On the morning of the 17th of June, the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, to the number of more than a hundred proceeded in procession from the Archiepiscopal Palace to Notre Dame, with the ceremonial usually observed by Councils. Although Napoleon, who employed no other precaution against license than silence, had strictly ordered the exclusion of the public and especially of journalists, curiosity drew a great number of persons to the gates.

After mass had been celebrated with much pomp, M. l'Abbé de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, on whom had fallen the duty of preaching the sermon usual at the opening of a Council, preached long and eloquently; observing a strict neutrality with respect to the Pope and the Emperor, speaking most respectfully of both of these powers, and of the importance of the existence of a good understanding between them He formally expressed his adhesion to the doctrines of Bossuet, declared that in case of necessity a church could find in itself the means of its own safety, and thus adopted the Imperial doctrine, which tended to render the temporal power independent of the Pope, but at the same time made great professions of devotion to, and affection for, the imprisoned Pope. Singular symptom of the sentiments which filled all hearts. That which he said of the doctrines of 1682, and of the possible case of necessity in which a church would have to save itself, was considered merely as conventional expressions suited to the exigencies of the moment, whilst all that portion of his discourse which treated of the Papal power created, on the contrary, a profound sensation; and altogether this sermon, which was reviewed and censured by Cardinal Fesch, had all the appearance of a demonstration secretly hostile to the Emperor.

Immediately after the sermon, Cardinal Fesch, with the mitre on his head, ascended the throne, which was decked out in the customary manner for this ceremony, and took the oath prescribed by Pius IV;—*I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and apostolic Roman Church, Mother and Mistress of all other churches; I promise and swear sincere obedience to the Roman Pontiff, successor to St. Peter, Chief of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

These words, although merely a continental form, caused considerable emotion amongst the members of the council,

for to swear obedience to an imprisoned Pontiff, within some paces of the palace of the Emperor, who held him in captivity, seemed thoroughly audacious. They retired moved, and surprised; and no man of experience who should have beheld this assembly, could have failed to foresee that it would escape from those who pretended to control it.

Napoleon, on being informed of the aspect of affairs, was excessively irritated, and only calmed by being shown that, whilst awaiting the decision which should somewhat retrench the authority of the Roman See, the church of France should display its fidelity to it, in order that it might not be suspected or calumniated. But although somewhat oppressed, Napoleon was from this moment less confident of the result of the Council. He wished, therefore, that the direction of the assembly should be entrusted to persons on whom he could rely, and decided by a decree that it should be entrusted to a committee consisting of the president, three Prelates nominated by the Council, and the two Ministers of Worship of France and Italy, MM. Bigot de Préameneu and Rovara. He confirmed by his decree the resolution which had conferred the presidency on Cardinal Fesch.

A message had, moreover, been prepared in very impolitic language, containing a harsh and lengthy history of the dispute with Rome, and presenting the question which had to be solved in a manner far too imperative. It was on Thursday the 20th that the decree regulating the *tenne* of the assembly, and the message, were presented to the Council. The two days intervening between the Monday and the Thursday had been occupied in secret interviews, which were infinitely more active on the side of the malcontents than on the side of the adherents of the Imperial power.

On the 20th the Council held a great general sitting. The two ministers proceeded to Notre Dame in carriages belonging to the court, escorted by the imperial guard, and arrived with great pomp, bringing with them the decree respecting the formation of the committee, and the message. They took seats beside the president, and first read the decree, each in his own language. This exercise of authority, which recalled that which had been exercised by the Roman Emperors over the first councils, when Christianity had not yet established its government, and treated on terms of equality with the masters of the earth, created a lively sensation amongst the members of the Council, which was, however, expressed only in their demeanour. When the votes were thrown for the purpose of electing the three Prelates who were to complete the committee, of the hundred members who were present scarcely thirty voted for the candidate who ob-

tained the most. These were given to the Archbishop of Ravenna, who obtained this number because it was desired to pay the Italians the compliment of making one of their Prelates a member of the committee. The second number, twenty-seven, was obtained by M. d'Avisu, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a respectable but unenlightened ecclesiastic, who was at little pains to conceal his indignation at the captivity of the Holy Father. M. the Archbishop of Tours (de Barral), and M. the Bishop of Nantes (Duvoisin), the merits of both of whom were well known, obtained each nineteen votes, and on the votes being taken again, M. Duvoisin obtained the majority. After the formation of the committee the message was read; producing by its harsh and haughty expressions a very painful feeling; contradicting the apparently pacific tendency of the mission to Savoy, and causing the assembly to separate with sad and anxious impressions.

The choice made by the Council of members for the committee was the first troubled symptom. It is, indeed, by the choice of persons that assemblies, even those that are the most discreet, betray their real inclinations, for they are able in this manner to express their opinions, without exposing themselves to trouble and danger, by their manifestation. Thus, in the present instance, the only member of the Council who obtained a real majority, after the Archbishop of Ravenna, elected for the reason already mentioned, was the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was notoriously adverse to the religious policy of the Imperial government.

Another symptom, of no less unsatisfactory a tendency, and due in great part to the tergiversaton of Cardinal Fesch, was the position given to the twenty-seven nominated, but uninstituted Prelates. Of these there were eighteen whose episcopal character could not be disputed, although their title to the dioceses to which they were nominated might be; and these were those who having been promoted from one diocese to another had an incontestable title in respect of the old see. Nine of these twenty-seven, however, having become bishops only when presented to these sees, were not yet completely bishops as regarded the church, although they were as regarded the power by which they had been nominated. Twice they had been summoned to join the Council, and it was wrong to refuse to them a deliberative voice, especially as the ancient councils presented examples of members deliberating who were not bishops. In the preparatory conferences with Cardinal Fesch, Cardinal Maury, having been desirous of introducing one of the bishops not yet instituted, M. de Boulogne, preacher of the sermon at the opening of the council, had exclaimed that the presence of these prelates

in their dioceses had already been a scandal, and that such a scandal in the very assembly in which their fate was to be decided would be intolerable. Every one yielded submissively to these words of M. de Boulogne, and the *uninstituted*, as they were called, had been excluded without opposition from the preparatory meetings. They had been permitted to vote in the election of members for the committee, on the express condition that the permission extended to that time only, and was not to be regarded as a precedent. No one had dared to dispute the opinion which set aside the uninstituted bishops, and it became evident that if the ruler of the Empire was feared without the council, there was another ruler within it who was feared even more; and that was public opinion, which condemned the despotic violence of Napoleon towards the Holy See, and condemned this violence, we may add, much more than it condemned his theological opinions, since M. de Boulogne himself appeared disposed to admit limits to the right of canonical institution.

After the preliminary meetings a species of anxiety began to manifest itself on all sides. The prelates who were partisans of the government were not the most numerous, and were anxious for more support, and unwilling to give up their uninstituted colleagues. They complained that they were not supported by either Cardinal Fesch or the Minister of Worship, who were both equally ignorant of the art of managing an assembly, and vacillated by turns between the Emperor and the Council. Those prelates, forming a larger body, who, without being precisely partisans of the government, were anxious that there should be peace between the Emperor and the Pope, were grieved at the form of the message. And of this party the Italian prelates appeared especially amazed. They had set out on their journey with the idea that Napoleon was admired and feared, and at Paris they had found that he was doubtless very much feared, but that in spite of their fear the Parisian population judged and criticised its master, sometimes violently blaming him, and was far from submitting to the man whom it had desired to make the ruler of the whole world. These poor Italians, therefore, demanded an explanation of so strange a contrast, and whilst they shared the general anxiety, also experienced the greatest astonishment.

The prelates absolutely hostile to the government, as few in numbers as those who were absolutely in favour of it, were some of them filled with indignation, on account of the indignities offered to the Pope, whilst the others were under the domination of those passions of ancient Royalism which began to be fostered into new life by the passions of

the existing authority. But whatever might be the motive of their hostility, they were delighted at the spirit of the council, although terrified at the consequences which might be its result.

A new and important opportunity occurred for the manifestation by the council of the disposition by which it was animated, on the occasion of the drawing up of the address in reply to the Imperial message. The government having enunciated from its own point of view the facts to be considered and the questions arising from those facts, it now became the duty of the Council to present these facts and questions as viewed by itself. From thence resulted the necessity of an address, and as a natural consequence, the formation of a committee to draw it up. A committee was accordingly formed in accordance with the spirit of the Council, composed of the Cardinals Spina and Caselli, (enlightened persons, but like all the Italian members of this council, rather desirous of eluding difficulties than resolving them); the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Tours, the Bishops of Gand and Troyes, MM. de Broglie and de Boulogne, both of whom had passed from a feeling of enthusiastic admiration for the first Consul to an imprudent hatred for the Emperor, M. Duvoisin, the Bishop of Nantes, and finally, the Bishops de Comacchio and d'Ivrée, Italians whose chief wish was to pass safely through the position in which they found themselves.

This committee, over which Cardinal Fesch presided, discussed all those general questions which arose from the condition of affairs, and found it difficult to come to an agreement, especially in the presence of the Italians, on such subjects as the propositions of Bossuet; the bull of excommunication; the relations of the Holy See with the temporal power; the prerogatives of the Papacy and the power which it might have of resigning any of them in certain cases. The committee was unanimous respecting the necessity of a cordial understanding between Napoleon and Pius VII.; but whilst its members bowed before the more powerful of the two, their hearts inclined towards him who was a proscribed man and a prisoner. The text of the proposed address was cautious as regarded Napoleon, and full of devotion with respect to Pius VII.

On the 26th of June this text, which was drawn up by M. Duvoisin, was presented to the assembled Council; and although it had been drawn up by a man of great sagacity, and amended by various persons of opposite opinions, produced amongst the prelates, already excited by the circumstances of their position, the same sensations as those experi-

enced by the committee. The Italians were shocked at the opinions of Bossuet, too openly enunciated; the moderate party was pained at the reference to the bull of excommunication; some thought that the rights of the temporal power should be more expressly acknowledged, and the competence of the Council more openly declared; whilst their opponents, on the contrary, were anxious that no engagement should be entered into on this last point, and desired to confine themselves to generalities, and an expression of anxiety to put an end to ecclesiastical evils.

In the meantime there occurred what was, in the eyes of inexperienced men, a phenomenon, but which in those of men accustomed to the régime of liberal countries appeared a very natural circumstance. Scarcely had the Prelates, so timid in Paris, been assembled in a council, than they underwent a sudden transformation; their timidity vanished; the sentiment by which the greater number were animated suddenly came to light, and this sentiment was one of sorrow, which at any moment might change into a feeling of indignation, for the captivity of Pius VII.

The debate on the proposed text of the address continued with much animation during five hours, when M. Dessoles, the Bishop of Chambéry, a respectable prelate, brother of a general in the service of the Emperor, arose, and with eyes animated with the idea of the proposition he was about to make, said the bishops assembled in council could not deliberate there as members of the church, whilst the head of the universal church, the venerable Pius VII., was in bonds. He proposed to the Council that it should go in a body to Saint-Cloud to demand of the Emperor the liberty of Pius VII., and added, that when this had been obtained they could then entertain the questions before them, and probably come to an agreement respecting them. At these words the assembly throbbed with respectful pity, and even remorse, at the idea that whilst they were tranquilly deliberating the Pope was a prisoner, without the society of a single friend to whom he might open his heart, and without even materials with which he might express the thoughts which agitated his soul; and a large portion of the assembled Prelates involuntarily arose with a cry of "Yes! yes! to Saint-Cloud!" The more prudent, perceiving the danger of the proposed step, wished and yet did not dare to oppose this generous impulse; for there was now more fear within the Council of the sentiment which animated it, than of the terrible power which held sway without. Cardinal Fesch, in a state of bewilderment, consulted the committee, as he could obtain no advice from the two ministers (whose presence irritated the

Council without guiding it), and followed the suggestion of M. Duvoisin to adjourn the sitting to the next day. This was a wise resolution and immediately adopted; the most prudent of the Prelates hastening to quit their seats, to induce the others to follow their example.

Notwithstanding the silence of the journals respecting them, the circumstances above narrated produced a great sensation throughout Paris; and giving much gratification to the party hostile to Napoleon—a party which was formerly very small but now become much increased by his own errors. The persons of this party thronged around the members of the Council, flattering them and encouraging them to advance still further in the same direction. But the unhappy Prelates, astonished at their own daring, had no sooner gone forth from Notre Dame than they experienced a renewal of their fears of the Duke de Rovigo, who, indeed, had not failed to intimate that it would be well for them to be cautious, as he was not the man to permit the scenes of the revolution to be renewed under a religious garb.

The legislative corps, assembled at this time, because it was desired that they should assist at the baptism, was surprised, confused, and jealous, that it should be idle and lifeless, whilst a convocation of priests was becoming a convocation of the states general of the empire, and producing heaven only knows what consequences. And in fact the Council did bear a great resemblance to the states general. In the meantime Napoleon, who, in spite of his far-sightedness, had not expected the display of spirit made by the Council, walked up and down his cabinet in a state of agitation, uttering threats but delaying to put them into execution, being restrained by MM. Duvoisin and Barral, who promised him that the result of the convocation of the Council should yet be a successful one, if he would but be patient and moderate.

On the following day the Council was calm, according to the habit of assemblies, which are calm, as are also individuals, on the day following a day of agitation, and agitated after a period of repose. MM. Duvoisin and Barral, and all the sagacious men who dreaded violent measures, and did not yet despair of a favorable result, expressed themselves to the effect, that when the address should have been adopted; when guarantees should have been given to the Imperial authority against the abuse of power by the Papacy; and that when the Council should have shown a disposition to deprive the Pope of the power of refusing the right of canonical institution, Napoleon, re-assured, would become more accommodating, and restore the Pope to the Faithful. By

means of such remonstrances as these, made throughout the Council in the course of familiar conversations, and by means also of making such further retrenchments that it became deprived of all character, the address was voted almost unanimously; the Italians abstaining from voting on account of the propositions of 1682.

In the sittings of the Council the uninstituted Prelates had been completely ignored, or rather they had ignored themselves by resigning that power of voting which they despaired of obtaining. The Prince Primate, Chancellor of the Confederation of the Rhine, and head of the German church, had with great difficulty been received into the Council; for its members, little acquainted with the men and circumstances of their times, had believed according to that which they had been told, that this ecclesiastical prince was a philosopher and a sceptic. They could not imagine that a noble and a prince, who dared to call himself a friend of Napoleon and of France, could be anything else. They had listened, however, with much profit to his complaints on the state of the German church; a state which was a striking proof of abuse to which canonical institution was liable, since instead of being a guarantee of the selection of fit persons, it had only become a weapon of war.

It became necessary, at length, to broach the great question on account of which the Council had been convoked, and M. Duvoisin announced that the Emperor demanded that it should immediately be taken into consideration. The assembly had in fact become inconvenient to Napoleon, and he was unwilling to leave it unoccupied. The Bishops of Trèves and Tournay were added to the committee which had drawn up the address, and it was charged with the consideration of the question of canonical institution. The government had declared that the Concordat had, it considered, been violated by the refusal of institution to the twenty-seven Prelates, whereby twenty-seven sees were left vacant, and that having been freed, therefore, from this treaty, it would only readopt it on consideration of its receiving modifications which would prevent a recurrence of the abuse of which it complained

The committee, composed of twelve members, entered, therefore, on the consideration of this question under the presidency of Cardinal Fesch. The first thing which had to be done was to declare what had been agreed upon between the Pope and the three Prelates who had been sent to Savoy; and this declaration was made by M. Barral in a most judicious manner, in which respect for the Pope was mingled with lively sympathy and complete sincerity. He com-

municated the note consented to by Pius VII. taking care to suppress the last article, which had become to the Holy Father a source of so much anxiety. It was asked why this note had not been signed; M. de Barral said wherefore, and Cardinal Fesch read the Pope's letter, by which the note was sanctioned and acknowledged. But according to the members of the committee, the note and the letter were equally valueless, and, at the best, only the commencement of an arrangement, and not in themselves an arrangement either precise or definite.

That simple settlement of the qusetion to which Pius VII. had been persuaded having been, therefore, set aside, it was necessary to consider the question itself, and in the first place to examine the competence of the Council. M. Duvoisin established, therefore, the competence of the Council with logic which was as neat as it was vigorous. It was evident, in fact, that although incompetent to decide a question of dogma and general discipline, which the universal church could alone have decided, the Council was fully competent to decide a question of national discipline which concerned only the French church; and the proof that the question was one of particular discipline alone consisted in the fact, that the mode of nomination and institution varied from country to country and was regulated by special treaties between various governments and the church. To this reasoning, however, the Bishop of Gand (M. de Broglie), the Bishop of Tournay (M. d'Hirn), and the Archbishop of Bordeaux (M. d'Aviau), replied, that a question of so great difficulty could not be settled without the concurrence of the Pope, and that the Council was incompetent to decide it alone. To this objection M. Duvoisin rejoined, that doubtless it would be better if this could be the case, but that the present case was one of extreme necessity, and that in such cases each church possessed within itself the means of self-preservation, and that such cases as those of a forced separation from the Pope, or the emptiness of the papal chair, or the possession of it by an unworthy Pope, rendered it necessary that the metropolitan should resume the power he formerly possessed of instituting bishops. The more prudent members of the council, however, were anxious that suppositious cases should be set aside, and that it should examine whether in the present instance institution by the Pope could be dispensed with.

When it became at length necessary to come to a decision respecting the competence of the Council, there were but three votes in its favour, and these were those of the three Prelates sent to Savoy. At this moment, therefore, the objects of the convocation had failed, and the matters in

question were exposed to all the chances of Napoleon's anger, which might violently dissolve the difficulty, without recourse either to the Pope or the Council. A message being sent to Saint Cloud, speedily followed by Cardinal Fesch in person, to inform him of what had occurred, the Emperor fell into a paroxysm of rage, declaring, with all kinds of contemptuous and injurious expressions that he had wished to restore the Gallican church to the greatness it had enjoyed under Bossuet, but that it was not worthy of such a mission, and that its bishops, instead of being the princes of the church, were but its vergers, and that he would take his own measures for relieving himself from the difficulty; that he would make a law by which he would declare that each metropolitan had the power of instituting the nominated bishops, and that it should be seen that the church could preserve itself without the Pope.

At this moment M. Duvoisin arrived to calm an anger which it was easy to foresee, and to restrain its consequences; and, indeed, having been withdrawn from the irritation which he almost always experienced in the presence of Cardinal Fesch by the influence of M. Duvoisin, he then exclaimed, "Let us hear M. Duvoisin; he knows what he is talking about." M. Duvoisin, lamenting with much reason that the Council had disarmed itself by denying its own competence, maintained, nevertheless, that it was not necessary to act as though all were lost, and that by acting on a basis other than the competence of the Council, namely, the note of Savoy, it was possible to arrive at the same end by a different way. It was possible, he argued, to make a declaration by which it should be stipulated, for example, that the episcopal chairs should not remain vacant longer than a year, six months being afforded to the temporal power in which to nominate, and six months allowed to the Pope in which to institute; and that when these six months should have elapsed, the Pope should be considered to have delegated his right of institution to the metropolitan. M. Duvoisin added, that it seemed impossible that the committee should be unwilling to agree to a settlement of the question which had been accepted by the Pope himself.

Napoleon consented to make this new attempt, and to defer to the morrow the exercise of his supreme authority, which was, in his opinion, quite sufficient to settle everything, in spite of all circumstances and all criticisms. MM. Fesch and Duvoisin retired to propose the new plan to the committee; and after much sensible and urgent advice given by M. Duvoisin, the committee yielded to his representations, and the declaration of Savoy was unanimously, with the ex-

ception of the votes of the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishop of Gand, made a decree of the Council.

This conclusion to a most formidable dispute was a source of great satisfaction to all prudent minds, and was particularly agreeable to the little court of Cardinal Fesch, for although the Cardinal was never tired of boasting of the heroism with which he resisted his nephew, his followers preferred that he should not have any occasion for its display. But this satisfaction was too readily entertained, for having been informed of what had taken place the members of the Royalist or bigoted party, employed themselves during the whole evening, and even during the whole of the night, in besieging the members of the committee with urgent declarations, that they were dishonoured, that they had given over the church to its tyrant, and that all was lost unless they retraced their steps in the morrow's sitting. This pleading was successful, and the committee promised, after having attempted to save themselves from Napoleon during the day, to save themselves from dishonour on the morrow.

On the following day, in fact, the committee having been assembled anew, appeared to have undergone a complete change. It was not the dread of Napoleon but that of the Catholic Church which now prevailed. The Cardinals Caselli and Spina, talented but weak men, were the first to retract. They pretended that when they had voted as they had, they were ignorant of the laws of the state, that they had since learned that they were in their very nature irrevocable when they had once been consecrated by the senate, and that therefore, before adopting the decree, it would be necessary that they should have the consent of the Pope, and thus was opened anew the question of the competence of the Council. The Bishop of Tonrnay employed less ceremony in his retractation, and declared that he was adverse to the decree. The Bishops of Comacchio and d'Ivrée, with a vacillation common to all the Italian priests throughout this affair, explained their vote in their turn and then retracted it. M. de Boulogne, who was usually more consistent, retracted his also, and all that had been done was again undone, The committee had now fallen into a strange state of confusion, and attempted to escape from it by adopting the general principle of the decree, which was based on the indisputable note of Savoy, on condition that it should receive the consent of the Holy Father, in order to obtain the signature which was wanting to the note on which it was based.

This vote, such as it was, having been obtained, Cardinal Fesch earnestly pressed M. Barral and M. Duvoisin to consent to be, the one or the other of them, the reporter

of the resolution which had been taken. These gentlemen, however, whose advice had not prevailed, considered that they could not take upon themselves the duty of drawing up the report, and in this they committed an error, for the resolutions adopted were probably of less importance than the language in which they should be presented to the Council; and it was far better that they should be reported by persons sincerely desirous of a peaceable solution of the difficulty, than by enemies who were only anxious for trouble and confusion. MM. Duvoisin and Barral were now, in fact, irritated in their turn, and obstinately rejected the office they were entreated to undertake. On their refusal, it was entrusted to the Bishop of Tournay, although he did not know French, and M. de Boulogne was requested to give his report that grammatical correctness which it might probably want.

Those persons who were only anxious for scandals had now good reason for satisfaction. The compiler of the report made it the vehicle for all the opinions of his party; M. de Boulogne deprived it of all that was offensive to his fine rhetorical taste, but permitted it to retain all that which a judicious politician would have erased. The report was to be read to the Council on the 10th of July.

The secret had been carefully kept, as party secrets usually are. On the 10th of July the Council assembled with extreme curiosity and visible anxiety. Scarcely had the report been read when extreme emotion was manifested throughout all the ranks of the assembly. A judicious report might have calmed all opinions by granting to each a reasonable amount of satisfaction, and rendered acceptable to the Emperor an arrangement which was certainly acceptable to the hostile portion of the Council, since it had emanated from itself. But the report having been, on the contrary, drawn up exclusively in favour of the opinions of one party, it completely satisfied the members of that party, whilst it excited the indignation of their opponents. The partisans of the temporal authority said that to declare the incompetence of the Council was to place the whole question in the hands of the Pope, and that by so doing, therefore, no settlement could be obtained. To this it was replied that even if the Council were competent, its acts could not be of any force without the sanction of the Pope, for that the decisions of a Council were of no value until the Holy See acknowledged them. This omnipotence of the Pope asserted by those on the one side, led those of the opposite opinions to review the use which had lately been made of it by Pius VII., to cite the bull of excommunication, and to blame it as an act

tending to anarchy, and to ask what, had it succeeded, must have been the result.

At these words the Archbishop of Bordeaux threw himself into the very midst of the assembly, holding in his hand a book containing the acts of the Council of Trent, opened at the very article which conferred on the Pope the power of excommunicating sovereigns when they should encroach on the rights of the church. Refusing to be withheld he advanced, and casting the book upon the table, exclaimed, "You assert that sovereigns cannot be excommunicated, blame then the church, which declares that they can!" These words produced an immense effect amongst those who approved of them, and amongst those who feared the consequences that might result from them, for their utterance was almost a renewal of the excommunication of Napoleon to his face, almost within the verge of his palace, and under his very hand.

At this point of the discussion Cardinal Fesch somewhat recovering his presence of mind declared that it was impossible to continue the deliberation in the state in which the Council then was, and deferred to the morrow the definitive vote on the subject under discussion. The Council separated, therefore, with a general feeling of anxiety and terror.

When Napoleon was informed of the details of this sitting he thought that he beheld the commencement of a revolution. But he could not see that they were the evidences of public opinion bursting forth, in some degree in spite of itself, in reprobation of his proceedings. He could not learn the striking lesson taught by the fact that he could not assemble some old, feeble, trembling priests, strangers to any scheme of policy, without their expressing, as soon as they assembled, an energetic protest against his actions.

In all this Napoleon could only see as despotism could only see, the necessity of employing force to suppress those offensive manifestations; as though the evil could be destroyed by attacking the effects of which it was the cause. Napoleon treated his uncle very harshly, reproved him with his weakness and want of clearsightedness; passed a decree declaring the immediate dissolution of the Council, and gave the most violent orders with respect to the individuals who had been the chiefs of the opposition. The Bishops of Tournay, Troyes, and Gand, were considered to be the persons chiefly in fault and pointed out as the first victims of this species of ecclesiastical insurrection. By Napoleon's order the Duke of Rovigo had them arrested in the night, and conducted to Vincennes, unjudged, unheard, and even without any explanation.

On the following day it became known that the Council was dissolved and that the three principal Prelates had been

sent to Vincennes. The clergy were especially moved by these circumstances, but were, we must add, as much terrified as indignant. The partisans of government whispered that the three Prelates had been found to be complicated in a dangerous intrigue, which had caused M. d'Astros to be imprisoned and M. Portalis to be excluded from the Council of state. In the meantime the other members of the Council, separated from each other, and deprived of that strength they had possessed in their union, fell into their old state of personal timidity Amongst those who were the most terrified and the most inclined to demand their pardon were the Italians, who, considering the whole quarrel as one which did not concern them, and as being between Napoleon and the French church alone, were very unwilling, after having preserved their sees even after the captivity of Savoy, to fall into difficulties for a matter of mere form, such as canonical institution. Cardinal Maury, who had no desire to assist in new revolutions, and whose heart was as devoted to Napoleon as it was full of resentment against the church which had treated him so ungratefully, did not fail to report these sentiments held by the Italian Prelates to the Minister of Worship and to the Emperor himself. Nineteen Italians offered, and fifty or sixty French Prelates less indifferent than the Italians with regard to the settlement of the question, but not less terrified, could be relied on, to act in accordance with the wishes of the government. Cardinal Maury advised that the assent of each should be taken singly, saying, " It is an excellent wine but will be better in bottles than in the cask." This advice was taken, and a decree was passed almost similar to that which had been agreed to in the committee, limiting to a year the interval during which a see might remain vacant, allowing six months for nomination by the temporal power, and six months for canonical institution by the Pope, after the lapse of which period the metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province should be charged with the institution of the nominated persons. To this decree was added a clause directing that the sanction of the Pope should be obtained; but this clause was understood in the sense, that, if the Pope did not agree to the decree the Council would vote it anew on its independent authority, and submit it to the Emperor to be made a law of the state. This plan having been determined on, the Prelates on whom reliance could be placed were summoned, one after the other, to the presence of the Minister of Worship. Nineteen Italian Prelates gave their cordial adherence to the decree, sixty-six French Prelates followed their example, and thus eighty-five out of the one hundred and six members of the Council gave their votes in its favour.

Nor were all the remaining twenty directly opposed to the decree, for at least half of them rather withheld their consent than refused it.

This result having been obtained, Napoleon gave it his sanction, and, according to the advice of Prince Cambacérès, issued a decree directing a new convocation of the Council for the 5th of August. The Council met again, therefore, on that day, and having listened in silence to the reading of the decree, voted it almost unanimously.

It now remained to obtain the sanction of the Pope, not because there was any acknowledgment of the incompetence of the Council, but because it was necessary to conform to the natural and necessary usage of submitting to the supreme head of the church the acts of every assembly of Prelates. Napoleon consented, therefore, to send a deputation composed of Bishops and Archbishops to solicit the Papal approbation, and to add to it some Cardinals who might supply to Pius VII. that counsel of which he always complained that he was deprived.

Napoleon had accepted this result of the Council, in the first place because it brought it to a conclusion, and in the next because he had almost obtained his end in obtaining the limitation of the Pope's right of canonical institution. But he perceived that he had been, naturally, defeated, for a spirit of opposition, which was the more significant that it was involuntary, had manifested itself among the clergy, and had declared that it regarded him as the oppressor of the Pontiff. He consoled himself by the flattering belief that the deputation would soon bring from Savoy, in accordance with the terms of the decree, the institution of the twenty-seven nominated Prelates, which would suffice for the arrangement of the affairs of the French church, and the removal of the difficulties which at present interrupted its administration. In the meantime, weary of this priest's quarrel, as he had called it, since he had taken up the part of disregarding the Concordat, his best work, he devoted his whole attention to his great political and military undertakings.

Although deprived of free journals, at least in France, the attention of Europe was directed with mingled anxiety and curiosity to the misunderstanding, already very grave, between the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander. Sometimes it was said that the war was inevitable and would commence immediately, that the French were about to pass the Vistula, and the Russians the Niemen; and at other times, that the quarrel was appeased and that each was withdrawing his troops within his own territories. Especially since the arrival of M. de Coulaincourt at Paris, and

M. de Lauriston at St. Petersburg, had hopes been entertained that peace would be maintained. But the movements, which continually took place, of troops from the Rhine to the Elbe, were ill calculated to support these hopes, and destroyed the good effect of the pacific rumours which had circulated during the last two or three months. The friends of peace had but too much cause for anxiety, for Napoleon, who had resolved to defer the war, whilst he persisted in his determination that it should take place, had continued his preparations, only taking the precaution to dissimulate them sufficiently to prevent an open rupture before 1812. Thus, for example, after having delayed at first the departure of the fourth and sixth battalions of Marshal Davoust, and retained them at the depôt, he had changed his plan, and thinking that they could be nowhere better disciplined than under that vigilant and strict disciplinarian, he had marched them upon the Elbe. Thus there were not fewer than thirty-two battalions sent at once across the Rhine; and to oppose the effect of this fact, which it was impossible to conceal, he had ordered the withdrawal of the two Westphalian battalions, which were intended to complete the German portion of the garrison of Dantzic, and directed that this retrograde movement should be conducted with as much ostentation as possible, and that the march of the two French battalions on the Elbe should be declared to be only the conclusion of a march long since commenced by them. Having under his command the French and a portion of the German journals, he was able for a moment to deceive the public, but hundreds of Russian spies of all nations speedily made known the truth with considerable exaggerations.

In the instance above mentioned the Russian cabinet had not been deceived, and the Emperor Alexander had said to M. Lauriston that indeed two German battalions had retreated, but that at the same time more than thirty French battalions had advanced from the Wesel upon Hamburg; "however," he added, "I do not wish to be behind the Emperor Napoleon in pacific demonstrations, and as he has withdrawn two battalions I will withdraw a division."

M. de Lauriston, who was much terrified at the idea of a new Northern war, and who saw very clearly that it must result from the reciprocal armaments of the two emperors, besought the Emperor Alexander to be the wiser of the two, and to take the initiative in those explanations which were neglected either from motives of false pride, or ill-intentioned calculations. "Demand," he said to the Emperor Alexander, "an indemnity for Oldenburg, and I have no doubt that it will be granted to you; send some one to Paris

as bearer of your complaints, and I am certain that he will be received with cordiality." To these urgent entreaties the Emperor Alexander replied by an absolute refusal. He was unwilling, as he had already said, to demand compensation for Oldenburg, either in Germany or Poland, because in the one case he would be denounced as the spoiler of the German princes, and in the other he would be accused to the Poles as being desirous of dismembering the grand duchy of Warsaw. The Emperor Alexander was unwilling, moreover, to appear in the character of an intimidated prince, seeking at the Tuilleries a peace which he was thoroughly convinced he should not obtain; and he feared that he should but precipitate the impending war by explaining himself categorically upon certain points, such as, for example, the matters relating to commerce. He was as desirous as Napoleon of deferring the war to another year, and maintained, therefore, an extreme reserve, affirming with sincerity that he desired peace, promising, as a proof of his sincerity, that if the French Emperor would disarm he would instantly do so likewise, and adding that although distressed at the spoliation of the Prince of Oldenburg, that was not a matter of immediate importance; that he hoped some compensation would be granted, but that he did not insist upon obtaining it immediately, and that he should never make that matter a cause for war.

In this delicate and serious position of affairs, it would have required great care and the most judicious conduct to have prevented the war, and it needed but one imprudent word to render it inevitable and perhaps immediate. And how great was the fear, the character of Napoleon being, as it was, so impetuous, and his language so habitually energetic, that this word would not remain unspoken.

On the 15th August 1811, the day of his fête and grand reception, as it was well known that he was prompt to express the feelings of his heart, every one listened to his words with great attention, and strove to find in them some hint respecting the important question of the moment. He was on this occasion in a gay humour, and inclined to speak. His magnificent countenance beamed with good temper and intellect, and he could not have failed to attract the attention of men less curious and interested than those who now surrounded him. At length the greater number of the persons invited had departed; there remained the Ambassadors of Russia and Austria, (the Princes Kourakin and Schwarzenberg), the Ambassadors of Spain and Naples, and one or two of the ministers of the little German courts, which always listened anxiously to the words of the

giants who were in the habit of making them their playthings. Followed to and fro by these persons, and engaged in general conversation, Napoleon said to the Ambassador of Spain that it was a bad season in his country for military operations, that no decided operations could be carried on just then, but that in the autumn he would urge matters forward, and by one rapid stroke settle matters with the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English. Then turning towards the Prince Kourakin he spoke of a dispatch which had been fabricated by the English, couched in very arrogant terms, and purporting to be a dispatch addressed by France to Russia, and he said that it had not even the appearance of truth; to which Prince Kourakin replied that it certainly had not, for that it was quite impossible that he ever should receive such an one. Napoleon smiled quietly at this sally of pride on the part of Prince Kourakin, and then, as though to avenge himself a little, turned the conversation to the state of affairs with Turkey, respecting which, in fact, he had much to say. The Russians in the last campaign had remained masters of all the fortifications on the Danube, from Widin to the Black Sea. They had been less successful this year; and it was evident that they had suffered from the retreat which had taken place of certain of their divisions. Prince Kourakin endeavoured to explain away the reverses of the campaign, and naturally boasted considerably of the courage of the Russian soldiers. Whilst the Prince was speaking Napoleon gazed at him with much malice, and took great pleasure in watching the embarrassment with which he spoke, and fruitlessly endeavoured to prove his point. "Yes, yes," he said, at length, "your soldiers are very brave, as we Frenchmen are well aware; but your generals do not know how to use them, and it is impossible not to see that they are very badly manœuvred. It is very difficult to defend a line so long as that of the Danube, from Widin to the Black Sea. It is only possible to dispute one bank of a river when possessed of the means of transport to the other bank, for the true art of defence consists in knowing how to attack. Your generals have acted contrary to all rules." Prince Kourakin, desirous of excusing the Russian generals, declared, that the necessary forces had been wanting to them, that they had on this account been compelled to withdraw from a portion of the theatre of war; and then, perceiving the mistake which he had committed, added, that the state of the finances of the empire had necessitated this measure. Napoleon smiled at the Prince's awkwardness, and continued to play with him with as much spirit as grace. "The state of your finances," he said, "has obliged you to withdraw

from the Danube . . . . . Are you quite certain of that? . . . . If that is the case you have made a sad financial blunder, for it is a general rule that troops of which the maintenance is too costly should be marched upon the enemy's territory. This is my usual mode of proceeding, and my finances are accordingly in a very good state." Then suddenly, abandoning the good humoured tone he had adopted during the interview, he continued, with the petulance of one no longer able to restrain himself; "But are we speaking seriously Prince? Are we now dictating despatches or writing for the journals? If it be so I will at once admit that your generals have been constantly victorious, and that it was the state of your finances which compelled you to withdraw a portion of your troops from living at the expense of the Turks, to make them live at the cost of the Russian treasury—I will grant all that; but if we are speaking frankly before three or four of your colleagues who know the real state of affairs, I will plainly tell you that you have been beaten; that your own errors have caused you to lose the line of the Danube, and that its loss resulted less from the ill advised manœuvres of your generals, than from the mistake of your government in depriving them of the necessary forces by withdrawing five divisions from the Danube on the Dnieper. And why was this done? To make a demonstration against me whom you call your ally, and who have no possible feelings towards you! You have committed faults upon faults! If you have any cause of anger against me, you should openly declare it. In any case, instead of scattering your forces you should have concentrated them against Turkey, so as to have overwhelmed it and compelled it to a peace which should have been as advantageous as that of Finland, and then you would have been in a position to have taken precautionary measures against me. But in policy, finance, and war, you have committed a thousand errors; and for whom? For the Prince of Oldenburg and some contrabandists. . . . . For the sake of such persons it is that you have exposed yourselves to the risk of a war with me, whose resources you well know! . . . . You choose to listen to the English, who tell you that I am resolved to make war upon you; you choose to ally yourselves with contrabandists whom your commercial measures have enriched; you arm yourselves against me, and I am compelled to arm in my turn, and we are now face to face ready to wage war! . . . . . You are as a hare which, having received shot in its tail, rises on its feet to look around, and thus exposes its head. . . . . As for myself, perceiving that I am threatened, I naturally take up weapons of defence . . . . . But it is necessary that this state of affairs should

come to an end." Napoleon, expressing himself with extreme volubility, and at the same time preserving a good-humored and even amicable tone, now paused for a moment, and afforded the Prince Kourakin an opportunity of replying. The Prince, whose remembrance or knowledge of the existing facts was but slight, although he was not wanting in finesse or skill in the conduct of important affairs failed to remind Napoleon that in the series of military armaments France had preceded Russia, and overwhelmed himself with protestations of friendship and devotion, declaring that Russia had never ceased to be faithful to the French alliance; that she had been greatly distressed by Napoleon's treatment of the Prince Oldenburg, to whom the court of Russia was strongly attached; that nothing could have more deeply pained the court of Russia than the seizure of the states of this Prince; but that Russia had, nevertheless, confined itself to remonstrances on the subject, to *reserves* . . . . "To *reserves*," replied Napoleon, "to reserves! You have made a formal protest, you have denounced me to Germany, to the Confederation of the Rhine, as a robber. . . . . Perhaps you do not know that your Prince of Oldenburg was a great favourer of contraband traffic, that he broke his treaties both with you and with me, that he violated the compact which bound together the members of the Confederation of the Rhine, that according to the ancient German law I might have summoned him to my tribunal, placed him under the ban of the Empire, and dispossessed him without giving you an opportunity of making any objections? Instead of adopting this mode of proceeding I have anticipated your wishes, and offered him a recompense." Whilst Napoleon was uttering these words, he smiled as though he did not speak them in earnest, and seemed almost to acknowledge that he had acted with too much precipitation. Then he added in a tone of mingled regret and gentleness, "I admit that if I had known how great was the interest felt by you in the welfare of the Prince of Oldenburg I would not have acted as I have. But now what course shall I adopt? Shall I restore to you the territory of Oldenburg filled with my custom-house officers, the only condition in which I would restore it? This you would not wish. . . . . In Poland I will grant you no compensation, none." . . . And Napoleon pronounced these last words with an accent which proved that Alexander had had good reason for being unwilling to expose himself to an attack on this point. . . "In what quarter then," Napoleon continued, "shall we find a suitable compensation? . . . . Only make some request and I will endeavour to satisfy you. . . . Why have you let M. Nesselrode

depart at such a moment? . . . (M. Nesselrode the principal director of the affairs of the legation was quitting Paris.) It is necessary that your master should send either him or some other with powers to conclude an arrangement, satisfactorily removing our mutual causes of dissatisfaction; otherwise I will continue my armaments, and you know that I am not in the habit of permitting myself to be vanquished. . . . I suppose you reckon upon having allies! Where are they? Is Austria one of them; Austria with whom you were at war in 1809 and from whom you have taken a province at the conclusion of peace?" . . . And whilst uttering these words Napoleon looked at the Prince of Schwarzenberg who was silent, and held his eyes fixed on the ground. "Is Sweden one of them; Sweden from whom you have taken Finland? Is Prussia one of them; Prussia whose spoils you accepted at the peace of Tilsit after having been her ally? . . . . You deceive yourselves, you will have no allies. Come to an understanding then with me, and let us have no war." . . . At the close of this interview Napoleon took the hand of the Prince Kourakin in the most friendly manner, and then dismissed the circle, smiling delightedly at the embarrassment of the Russian Ambassador, who exclaimed, as he left the Tuilleries, that he was suffocated, that it was very hot in the salons of the Emperor. This conversation recalled to the memory those which Napoleon had held with Lord Whitworth on the eve of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and with M. de Metternich on the eve of the campaign of Wagram; and although it had not the violence of the former, nor the intentional gravity of the latter, it was capable of affording ground for very dangerous exaggerations, and such as would be extremely embarrassing to the Emperor Alexander, who was already too much compromised in the eyes of the nation in regard to the wounds suffered by his dignity.

On the following day Napoleon's flatterers, who were in the habit of celebrating the prowess of his lips as much as that of his sword, did not fail to relate how he had overwhelmed the Russian Ambassador; whilst his detractors, in the habit, on the contrary, of putting a bad construction on his best actions, were very active in declaring that he had violated every law of propriety in respect to the representative of one of the chief powers of Europe. Prince Kourakin, however, adopted no such tone in his report, which was simple and moderate; and the Emperor Alexander would have permitted this new outbreak of his formidable ally to have passed without remark, had not a number of letters sent to St. Petersburg, from Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, strangely

misrepresented the interview of 15th of August. "I should have wished," Alexander said to M. Lauriston, "to have taken no notice of this conversation, but all the salons of St. Petersburg are resounding with it, and this new circumstance has but confirmed my nation in its resolution to defend its dignity and independence to the death. Napoleon would not have spoken this if he were not resolved upon war. I remember his conversation with Lord Whitworth in 1803, and that which he held with M. de Metternich in 1809; and I can only see in that which has just taken place a sign which leaves little hopes of the maintenance of peace."

The Emperor Alexander made these observations with an air of extreme sadness, which was shared by his Minister, M. de Romanzoff, whose political existence depended on the maintenance of peace. Each of them declared that the first steps towards war would not be made by Russia, but it was very evident that they no longer retained any doubt respecting the approach of war, that the favourable impressions produced by the presence of M. de Lauriston, and the tone of his language, were completely dissipated, and that the autumn and winter would be occupied with active preparations for a decisive and terrible struggle.

In the meantime Napoleon despatched to the Elbe the fourth and sixth battalions, by which means the forces under Marshal Davoust were raised to eighty battalions of the finest infantry. Adding the *chasseurs corses* and those of the Po, with some Spanish and Portuguese detachments, Napoleon proposed to raise the corps of the Elbe to ninety battalions, and to distribute it in five divisions of equal strength. An excellent Polish division, another composed of veteran soldiers of the Hanseatic towns, and a third composed of Illyrians, would raise to eight the number of Marshal Davoust's division. Many French officers, some returned from foreign service since the annexation of their native country to France, others from the school of Generals Friant, Morand, and Gudin, had contributed to inspire with proper spirit these troops of foreign origin. Napoleon flattered himself that under the iron hand of Marshal Davoust, and within the influence of the flame of patriotism and military honour, which burnt in the ranks of his army, these Spaniards, Portuguese, Illyrians, and Hanse troops, would acquire the valour of the French themselves.

In the rear of the Elbe, Napoleon, as we have already said, formed his second army, called the corps of the Rhine, with a dozen regiments which had fought at Essling under Lannes, and Masséna, and to which he was desirous of adding the Dutch troops. Being certain that he would have a year in which

to complete his preparations, he proposed to raise these regiments to four and even five battalions, since he had renounced the plan of select battalions.

We may here observe what an incredible fertility of spirit he displayed in the creation of his armaments, a fertility which, being liable, as all great faculties are, to abuse, sometimes led to artificial creations, the unreality of which became only too apparent in the ensuing campaign. We have already seen that Napoleon was anxious to add to the class of the conscription of 1811, which had been wholly levied, a very considerable addition both in numbers and quality, by procuring the submission of the refractory recruits of the levies of former years. Eleven or twelve columns mobile overrunning France in every sense, had compelled fifty or sixty thousand of these refractory persons to submit. The measure had been severe but efficacious. As their detention, however, was a source of considerable difficulty, Napoleon determined to have them trained in the isles which border France, from which flight would be impossible. With this view he formed in these isles, and of good troops, regiments of instruction, of which the effective force was left undetermined and might be raised to fifteen thousand men. He formed one of these establishments in the isle of Walcheren, a second in the isle of Ré, a third in Belle-Ile and two in the Mediterranean, one of which was in Corsica and the other in the island of Elba.

Napoleon devoted the most sedulous attention to these establishments, and at length, considering them sufficiently well trained, drew some thousands from the reigments at Walcheren, to complete the fourth and sixth battalions of Marshal Davoust. His intention was, if this attempt succeeded, to furnish the Marshal with sufficient of these troops to raise all his battalions to a thousand men each.

These first detachments were perfectly successful, and of the men sent, scarcely a sixth were lost by desertion. The remaining five sixths presented in their ranks a robust and veteran appearance, and gave good hopes that they would become, under good treatment, very serviceable troops. Marshal Davoust, who knew how, when necessary, to lay aside his extreme severity, gave orders that they should be accustomed to discipline by gentle treatment. This plan was tried, and not without success. Unfortunately, when other bodies of these troops were sent from their various depôts they carried with them the fevers of Walcheren and other dangerous maladies. The first detachments, moreover, had not been sent until properly equipped and disciplined; but the latter were sent in peasant costume and totally uninstructed.

Marshal Davoust devoted his earnest attention to the task of remedying a portion of these evils, to the proper management of the unhappy persons sent, to the providing them with the necessary equipment, and to inspiring them with the martial spirit of his regular troops. But what a task was this; and how much danger there was that, after having succeeded during twenty years, failure would at length ensue at the moment when all the most natural sentiments, too rudely repressed, should be driven to despair! The care bestowed by Napoleon on the organization of his troops, was equalled by the attention which he bestowed on the provision of sufficient war matériel. His plan was to have at Dantzic, besides what would suffice for the subsistence of 20,000 men during twelve months, provisions sufficient for the maintenance of an army of four or five hundred thousand men during the same time; and with this view he had, in the first place, ordered General Rapp to watch the stores of grain in this city, which is one of the chief depôts of cereals in Europe, and to keep himself informed of the quantities in the magazines, so as only to purchase at favourable seasons. Having taken this precaution he then directed him to purchase 600,000 or 700,000 quintals of wheat, several millions of bushels of oats, and to buy up all the fodder he could find. Three military chests, the first at Dantzic, the second at Magdeburg, and the third at Mayence, known to him alone, in order that they might not be generally reckoned on, were secretly to furnish the necessary funds for these purchases.

The supply of stores, however, was not the only care; it was also necessary to provide means for transporting them; and Napoleon had already ordered the formation of a certain number of transport corps for the conduct of about 1500 waggons loaded with biscuit. Continually pondering on the subject, which occupied all his thoughts, and devising every moment new combinations, he had, since the preceding year, discovered means of transport still more efficacious and ingenious than those on which he had at first determined. The ordinary waggon, drawn by four horses, and driven by two men, was very well suited for the conveyance of the daily provision of troops which it accompanied; and one such could carry one day's provision for a battalion. But something else was now required by Napoleon, who was planning to convey sufficient stores for the provision of his army during fifty or sixty days; and having this end in view he conceivedthe idea of great chariots drawn by eight horses, conducted by three or four men, and capable of containing ten times the load of an ordinary waggon. A tenfold result would thus be obtained whilst the expense of conveyance would be

scarcely doubled. Considering, however, after further reflection, that this kind of carriage would be too heavy for the soil of Poland and Lithuania, Napoleon determined upon employing a chariot drawn by four horses and conducted by two men, which would leave the existing organization of the transport corps undisturbed, whilst the amount carried by each waggon might be trebled or quadrupled. He immediately gave orders, therefore, for the construction of waggons after this model in France, Germany, and Italy, wherever there were commissariat depôts, in order that the troops might have at the same time the old waggons for the conveyance of the provisions necessary for each day, and the new waggons for the transport of the stores sufficient for one or two months. Still further racking his brain, as it were, to provide for every contingency, he was desirous of adding to his means of transport *chars a la courtois* and *chars a boeuf*. The former are, as is well known, light, and easily drawn by a single horse, which is trained to follow the one preceding, so that one man is able to conduct a considerable number of them. The latter are heavy, but are drawn by strong animals which, feeding during the occasional moments of repose on the grass beneath their feet, occasion no trouble in the evening after having performed the most considerable services during the day. On account of these reasons, therefore, Napoleon resolved to add to the eight transport battalions which he had determined on for the army of Russia, four battalions *a la courtoise* and five battalions *a boeufs*, planning at the same time a method of organization which would permit the waggoners to transform themselves immediately into soldiers for the defence of the convoy they conducted.

Napoleon calculated that these seventeen battalions, conducting five or six thousand waggons, would render him secure of provisions for two hundred thousand men during two months, or for three hundred thousand men during three months. And this, he considered, would be sufficient, for he proposed to embark his stores on the Vistula at Dantzic, transporting them by its waters to Frische-haff, from Frische-haff to the Pregel, and from the Pregel by the interior canals to the Niemen. He had even despatched some naval officers to arrange the details of this plan. Arriving at the Niemen with 500,000 or 600,000 men, he would lead forward the half of them into the interior of Russia, and having, according to the preceding calculation, forty days provisions in his baggage train, he hoped to be able, with what he might procure on his route, to provide for the subsistence of his soldiers; for, in spite of their plans of devastation, the Russians would scarcely have time to destroy everything.

On these reasons and on these immense preparations Napoleon founded his hopes of being able to maintain his troops on the vast plains of the North, which he expected to find desert and devastated.

But these five or six thousand waggons required eight or ten thousand men to conduct them, and eighteen or twenty thousand horses or oxen to draw them; and if we add thirty thousand artillery horses, and probably forty-four thousand cavalry, we may form some idea of the difficulties which had to be overcome in matter of providing the necessary stores. Napoleon hoped to make this necessary provision by delaying offensive operations until the fields should be clothed with herbage.

Knowing that the soldiers much preferred bread to biscuit, and having perceived that the difficulty of procuring bread did not arise from the baking, but from the labour of converting the grain into flour, he ordered the greater part of the cereals in Dantzic to be ground, and that the flour thus procured should be stored in barrels adapted to the new waggons, and that masons should be enlisted for the purpose of constructing ovens at the various places of encampment. These masons were to be incorporated amongst the troops of workmen of every calling whom he designed to carry with him, such as bakers, carpenters, smiths, &c.

The pontoon equipage, by no means the least important subject of care, also received improvements in this second year of preparation. He had ordered the construction at Dantzic of two pontoon equipages of 100 boats each, which would serve for throwing two bridges over the largest rivers. As there would seldom be a scarcity of wood in the region in which the war would be waged, and iron and cordage would be the only things difficult to procure, Napoleon ordered such of these things to be provided as would suffice for the construction, with wood to be procured on the spot, of a third pontoon bridge. He also ordered provision to be made of materials for the construction of fixed bridges. General Eblé, who had performed on the Tagus such marvels in this branch of military art, was placed at the head of the corps of pontonniers, to the service of which were assigned two thousand horses. "With such means," cried Napoleon, "we shall swallow up all obstacles!"

Although Napoleon had confided to Marshal Davoust the organization of the greater portion of the army, because he regarded him as a consummate disciplinarian, and an administrator at once just and severe, he did not intend to entrust him with the entire command, naturally reserving this for himself. But he wished, in case of sudden hostilities, to

have on the Elbe and the Oder, and under a single head, an army of 150,000 French and 50,000 Poles ready to throw themselves upon the Vistula. He proposed, at a later period, when operations should have commenced, to detach a portion of these troops, which, joined to the corps of the Rhine, should be divided between Marshals Oudinot and Ney. Marshal Oudinot was to assemble at Munster the regiments cantoned in Holland, and Marshal Ney at Mayence those which were cantoned on the Rhine. Each of these Marshals had been ordered to join their several corps immediately, and to commence the organization of their infantry and cavalry. As for the cavalry, they were each to receive their share on entering Germany, whither all the cavalry troops had already been sent in order to be mounted. Independently of these forces, so considerable in themselves, 100,000 allied troops of various nations were to be distributed among the different corps of our army.

Napoleon ordered Prince Eugène to be ready at the close of the following winter to cross the Alps with the army of Italy; and he had assembled in Lombardy almost the whole of the armies of Illyria and Naples. He had selected from each of the best regiments, consisting of five battalions, three battalions d'élite for service in Russia, proposing thus to form an army of 40,000 French, supported by 20,000 Italians, which should cross the Alps in March under the command of Prince Eugène. The fourth and fifth battalions retained at the depôts, with many entire regiments of the Neapolitan army of Murat, were charged with the defence of Italy against the English and against insurgents. The levies of the conscription of 1811, and the refractory conscripts of the isle of Elba, having undergone a severe course of discipline, would refill successively the ranks of the fourth and fifth battalions, which would be exhausted for the purpose of filling the three first. Napoleon had, moreover, taken from the Italian and Illyrian troops ten or a dozen entire regiments for the purpose of creating an army of reserve, which would replace in Spain the Imperial guard and the Poles, whose departure for Russia he had already ordered. Thus, at the very moment when he was preparing to strike a great blow in the North, Napoleon did not renounce his intention of striking one in the South, pursuing simultaneously, as was his wont, all the objects he had in view. In the preceding year this army of reserve could have had no better destination than Spain, since there was the theatre of decisive events; but at the present time, on the contrary, the North having become the scene of final conflict, he should have directed to this quarter all his forces, confining himself in

Spain to energetic defensive operations on the limits of old Castille and Andalusia. But Napoleon, assuming all that his vast imagination conceived to be real, believed that he could at the same moment hurl the thunderbolt at Cadiz and at Moscow.

Whilst occupied with these vast conceptions, which were to be put into execution in the following spring, he was careful to visit a country which had been recently added to the Empire, a country on which he placed a high value, in which he hoped to produce a very favourable impression by his presence, and where he could personally inspect a portion of his preparations for war; this country was Holland. Naval affairs were, also, another reason which induced him to make this journey; for, with his usual determination to attend to every thing at the same time, he had by no means renounced his exertions in the establishment of his marine, and was as active on this subject as though he were not preparing for a war with Russia. He was anxious in the first place to hold the English in check, and by causing them continual anxiety to prevent them from exhausting England of troops by sending them to the Peninsula. With this purpose he had resolved to make them live in continual apprehensions of expeditions constantly prepared against Ireland, Sicily, and even Egypt, and hoped by these means to have, in the improbable case of no war taking place with Russia, the means of embarking 100,000 men.

Now that the Scheldt was entirely under his own control, he had altered his arrangements with regard to his flotilla at Boulogne; reducing it to what would suffice for the embarkation of 40,000 men instead of 150,000 as formerly, and thus confining it to a size which would render an expedition perfectly practicable. He had, besides, on the Scheldt, sixteen vessels at Flushing, and would soon have twenty-two. By adding a flotilla of brigs, corvettes, frigates, and large armed long boats, he reckoned upon having means for the embarkation of 30,000 men. He included, also, in his calculations the eight or ten vessels at the Texel, so long demanded of his brother Louis, and already prepared since the administration of Holland had been in his own hands. This squadron, escorting a flotilla, was capable of embarking 20,000 men. There were some frigates at Cherbourg, two vessels at Brest, four at Lorient, and seven at Rochefort, and with these materials Napoleon prepared to re-establish the Brest flotilla, which he desired to employ in the seizure he projected of the islands Jersey and Guernsey. Finally, he had eighteen vessels at Toulon, which he intended, with the aid of Genoa and Naples, to increase to twenty-four. He had

thus prepared in the Mediterranean means for the embarkation of 40,000 men, and for an expedition which might alternately threaten Cadiz, Algiers, Sicily, and Egypt. Three vessels and some frigates were ready at Venice, and were about to proceed to Ancona; to be followed by two others, and several frigates, so as to have complete command of the Adriatic.

These already vast resources Napoleon desired to increase in 1812 and 1813 to 80 or 100 vessels, and thus to possess means of transport for nearly 150,000 men. He had already sufficient for the purpose of throwing 30,000 men into Ireland, 20,000 into Sicily, 30,000 into Egypt, and thus filling England with consternation. These means would also enable him to recover the Cape, long since lost, and the isle of France and Martinique, lost but lately. If, therefore, the peace of Europe should be arranged without securing to France maritime peace as well, he would be able immediately to strike a blow at England.

These various preparations and certain details of his armaments for the war with Russia rendered it necessary that he should take a journey along the coasts; setting out, therefore, from Compèigne on the 19th of September, and stopping successively at Antwerp and Flushing, he inspected the works which had been ordered for the defence of the Scheldt, embarked on board the flotilla of Flushing under the flag of Admiral Missiessy, made sail, and was overtaken by a great storm which rendered communication with the land impossible for thirty-six hours. He was well satisfied with the condition of naval affairs in this quarter, and did not depart without distributing rewards and bestowing great praises on the Admiral.

One object of anxiety which occupied Napoleon's attention during this voyage arose from the fact that, as there were soldiers of all nations in the ranks of his army so there were sailors of all nations on board his vessels, and there was some danger that when out at sea they might become insubordinate and join the English. He determined, therefore, to place on board each vessel a guard composed of one hundred and fifty veteran French infantry. He had, independent of the imperial guard and foreign regiments, one hundred and thirty regiments of infantry, some consisting of five and some of six battalions, and he resolved to take from the best organized depôt battalions companies of infantry to be regular garrisons on board the vessels of the line. Putting into immediate execution, as was his wont, the idea which had occurred to him, he gave orders for the dispatch of these companies to all the ports at which the squadrons were assembled; and,

always impatient of delay, insisted at Antwerp that the ship-building should proceed incessantly, and that as soon as one vessel had been launched, another should be placed upon the stocks. As there was a want of the necessary wood, he planned a vast system of transport from Hamburg to Amsterdam, by means of small boats passing between the coast and the isles which lie along the shore of the north sea from the mouths of the Elbe to the Zuyderzee. Nor did he stop here. A dry summer, which had been very favorable to the vineyards, had checked the growth of the cereals, and the price of grain was rising every day; Napoleon withdrew, therefore, the licences which had been granted for the exportation of grain, and ordered the purchase of corn at Hamburg for France.

After having inspected the regiment of Walcheren and ordered various measures relative to the health and equipment of the men, Napoleon visited Amsterdam. The Dutch, much distressed at having lost their independence, hoped nevertheless to be recompensed in some degree by their incorporation with a vast empire, and by the vivifying administration of Napoleon. There had been some time before bloody executions on the occasion of the conscription in east Friesland; nevertheless, whether led away by the prestige of his glory, or the excitement which fêtes occasion to even the most phlegmatic people, the Dutch received with acclamations the man who had deprived them of their independence, and whom, as they speedily proved, they were far from loving. The reception was such, in fact, as might well deceive Napoleon; and as he beheld the resources of the country he indulged for a moment in a crowd of hopes and illusions.

Amongst the causes which had induced Napoleon to visit Holland, the defence of the new frontiers of the empire was not the least. With that admirable quickness of eye which enabled him to determine, with a mere glance at the map, how a country should be defended or attacked, he devised immediately the best system of defence for Holland. He determined in the first place, on account of the danger always threatened by the English, the chief depôt of stores should be neither at Texel, nor Amsterdam, nor even Rotterdam, but at Antwerp, and he ordered the immediate conveyance thither of all the contents of the Dutch arsenals. He determined that there should be a first line of defence passing by the Wesel, Koevarden, and Groninguen, embracing not only Holland, properly so called, but Gueldres, l'over Ysel, and Friesland; a somewhat feeble line, and only of the strength of advanced works. He designed a second stronger line to leave the Rhine towards Emmerich, following the Ysel,

passing by Deventer and Zwolle, embracing Gueldres, and a moiety of the Zuyderzee, and covering almost all Holland, with the exception of Friesland. But he resolved that the true line of defence should be that which leaving the Rhine, or Wahal, only at Garcum, should end at Waarden on the Zuyderzee. This line, in fact, included the most *hollandaise* part of Holland, consisting of fertile lands and flourishing cities, so situated that in case of an inundation they could be converted into isles, impenetrable even to a maritime enemy, by means of the fine works on the Texel, which would form the extreme and invincible point.

Assisted in the execution of these plans by the able general of engineers, Chasseloup, Napoleon ordered the construction of magnificent works at Texel, the object of which was the protection of an immense flotilla with its stores, affording it the means of entrance or departure in all states of the wind, and closing completely the Zuyderzee.

These orders having been given he proceeded to Wesel, where he directed other works for the defence of this city, and to afford it an administrative importance which it then did not possess. At the same time he made his presence in this quarter the pretext for the review of two divisions of cuirassiers. He inspected them between Dusseldorf and Cologne, made arrangements for supplying them with all that they required with respect to organization and equipment, and took advantage of their arrival on the Rhine to march them quietly on the Elbe. This was a convenient way of sending forward, almost unperceived, his heavy cavalry, of which these two divisions formed almost the half. He also employed himself at this time with the creation of the Lancers. He had already in Poland had an opportunity of perceiving the utility of the lance, and having resolved to employ it in the present war, determined to convert into regiments of lancers six regiments of dragoons, one of chasseurs, and two of Polish cavalry. Having bestowed the necessary attention upon these various matters, he proceeded to Cologne, and devoted his attention to its defence.

In the meantime he had to determine many points relative to the foreign and domestic policy of the empire. The court of Prussia, profoundly disquieted at the approaching war, perceiving that since its territory would be the road of the belligerent armies, it would be unable to remain neuter, and having no reason to favour Russia, which in 1807 had concluded peace at her expense, and had even accepted a portion of her territory (the district of Bialystok), was disposed to ally itself to Napoleon, provided that he would guarantee the integrity of the remainder of its states, and a territorial

recompense for effective assistance. Unfortunately Napoleon remained deaf to the hints he received on this subject, in order that his designs might remain the better concealed, and the terrified court attributed this reserve to an intention of seizing at some future day the whole Prussian kingdom. This terrible fear constantly weighed upon the mind of the King, and he lost not a moment in making preparations for war; his design being to demand of Napoleon, at the critical moment, a declaration of his intentions, and should he refuse to grant to Prussia his alliance, to throw himself beyond the Vistula with 100,000 or 150,000 men, and to join the Russians at Konigsberg. However well dissembled were the preparations of the Prussian court they could not escape so acute an observer as Marshal Davoust; and moreover, M. de Hardenberg, endeavouring every day to obtain some explanation from the French minister, M. de Saint-Marsan, and with this purpose taking pains to show what means Prussia possessed of being able to assist an ally whose cause she might espouse, permitted himself to declare that she could raise in a few days, if necessary, an army of 150,000 men. These words falling from the lips of the first Prussian minister had been a ray of light, and Napoleon directed M. de Saint-Marsan to repair immediately to the minister and the king, and to declare to each that his eyes were at length opened to the designs of Prussia, and that it was necessary that she should immediately disarm, trusting to his word of honour that she should be admitted to his alliance on satisfactory conditions, when prudence would permit him to declare his designs; and that should she refuse obedience, Marshal Davoust would march upon Berlin with 100,000 men to efface from the map of Europe the last remnants of the Prussian monarchy. At the same time orders were given to Marshal Davoust to proceed without delay to the Oder, to cut off from the Prussian army the road of the Vistula, and to carry, if necessary, the court itself from Potsdam.

Napoleon had also to take very important measures with regard to Sweden. We have already related the circumstances attending the election of the new Prince Royal. This prince had not been able to forgive Napoleon for refusing to listen to his proposition with respect to the cession of Norway. Having owed his election simply to accidental circumstances, and more especially, the glory of the French armies, possessing the attachment of no party in Sweden, and acquiring no esteem by his personal presence in the country, since it was speedily discovered that he was a vain boaster, prodigal of foolish promises, and less warlike than he pretended

to be, he had been anxious to recommend himself to the Swedes by means of a brilliant acquisition which should flatter their patriotism. The Swedes, indeed, although much distressed at the loss of Finland, nevertheless perceived that this province so necessary to Russia, must be the constant object of its desires and its efforts, and that the truest frontier for the two countries being, therefore, the gulf of Bothnia, (with the exception of the Aland islands, these being indispensable, especially in winter, to the safety of Stockholm), the acquisition of Norway should be the recompense sought for the territory they had lost. But although Napoleon could easily promise the gift of Finland in the event of his war with Russia having a successful issue, it would have been a flagrant treason against his faithful ally Denmark to have hesitated a moment with respect to Norway. His significant silence had made the Prince Royal aware of his sentiments on this subject, and he had from that moment abandoned himself to a spirit of hatred against Napoleon, which had long lurked at the bottom of his heart. The reigning king, enfeebled by age and bad health, had entrusted to him the administration, at least for the time being. Bernadotte had taken advantage of this to favour the Russian and English party, whilst he still ostensibly adhered to the interests of France to which he owed his election. But whilst refraining from declaring himself hostile to France, he took every occasion of declaring himself entirely devoted to Sweden, of expressing his readiness to die for her; and of repeating that Sweden was under no obligation to be faithful to any allies save those who reverenced and preserved her interests. Whilst holding this language in public he favoured more than ever the contraband commerce, secretly intimating to the English that they might resort to the environs of Gottenburg, notwithstanding the apparent existence of war, and hinted to the Russian Legation that, although the loss of Finland was very grievous to Swedish pride, what was lost was lost, and that it hoped to obtain compensation for the loss in a different quarter. He had, moreover, maintained in full force the order given to the Swedish marine to repress our corsairs, and openly to protect the soldiers who maltreated, even to the shedding of blood, our sailors at Stralsund.

Alquier was our minister at Stockholm, and as he had had the misfortune of being at Madrid a little before the fall of Charles IV., and at home at the moment of the seizure of Pius VII., he had been very unjustly accused of being wherever he appeared, the sinister precursor of Napoleon's designs. All that he can be justly reproached with, being the possession of a

considerable power of foresight and a coldness of demeanour which is sometimes dangerous in delicate situations. It was to him that the new prince of Sweden had to explain himself, and an interview took place between them, the account of which would appear incredible, were not M. Alquier, who reported it to Napoleon, a witness worthy of entire confidence. After useless and insincere explanations respecting the English establishment at Gottenberg, the failure of performance of the principal clauses of the last treaty, and the French blood spilled at Stralsund, General Bernadotte insolently demanded of M. Alquier how it was that France, which he had served so well, and which was under such great obligations to him, should treat him so ill, even to the extent of endeavouring to injure him at Constantinople, Stralsund, and Stockholm, by means of its agents. To these strange words, which he could scarcely believe that he had heard aright, M. Alquier replied that if France were under obligations to the new Prince Royal it had repaid them by raising him to the throne of Sweden.

Doubtless, if it had been possible to foresee the course of future events, it would have been judicious to treat this mad pride with caution; but when we consider the state of existing circumstances we may easily understand the indignation which it excited in the mind of the French minister; and it cannot but be admitted that there are some things which even the fear of instant death ought not to induce us to endure. Bernadotte was anxious that the particulars of this interview, in which he had displayed a spirit of feverish and even mad presumption, should not be transmitted to Napoleon, but nevertheless, he could not refrain from carrying his boastful demeanour to the extent of saying to M. Alquier, "I particularly beg of you to inform Napoleon of what you have just heard!"—"As you wish it, I will do so," replied M. Alquier, and immediately retired. It was easy to understand that the above request, proceeding from so insincere a man as the Prince Royal, had a meaning precisely contrary to its ostensible signification, but M. Alquier, who would have done his master good service by keeping silence respecting this conversation, did not dare to fail in the exact performance of the duty of his office, and transmitted full particulars of it to Paris. Napoleon, who was far from foreseeing the cruel punishments which Providence had in store for him, perused his minister's portentous narrative with a smile of pity, declaring that he had long since perceived the enemy gnawing at Bernadotte's heart, long since believed him capable of the blackest treason, and that he regarded this expression of his true character as worthy only of utter disdain. He ordered M. Alquier to quit Stockholm

for Copenhagen without giving any explanation and without taking leave of the Prince Royal. He directed M. de Cabre, Secretary to the Embassy, to assume its direction, at the same time refraining from visiting the Prince Royal or holding any communications save with the Swedish ministers, and with them only in matters of necessity. At the same time he intimated to the Swedish representative at Paris, that if satisfaction were not granted to France, especially with regard to Stralsund, the treaty of peace with Sweden would be considered null.

During the journey he was now taking Napoleon had, also, to give various orders relative to ecclesiastical affairs.

The deputation of Prelates and Cardinals sent to Savoy had found Pius VII. gentle and benevolent as usual, although agitated by the serious posture of affairs, and it had but little difficulty in persuading him that the decree of the Council was satisfactory. This decree, as the reader must remember, obliged the Pope to institute nominated bishops within six months from the time of their nomination, and authorized the metropolitan to grant it in case he should neglect the performance of this duty within the stipulated time. Pius VII., favourably impressed by the reference made by the Council to his authority, which he regarded as an acknowledgement of the rights of the Holy See, yielded to the solicitations of the Holy See, adopted the new decree, and promised to institute without delay the twenty-seven new Prelates. This result having been obtained the Cardinals and Prelates departed, leaving the Pope more calm and more disposed to a reconciliation with the Emperor, and flattering themselves that in return for the concessions they had induced him to make they should obtain for the Pontiff a lot less hard and more worthy of his station.

Information of what had taken place at Savoy reached Napoleon whilst on his journey in Holland, and the important affairs of the church were amongst those on which he had to determine during its progress. It is somewhat singular, that the dispute with the Pope caused him almost as much anxiety as the war in Spain.

In the one case as in the other he found a resistance in the nature of circumstances against which he found the assaults of the sword to be perfectly futile, and with respect to which, indeed, truth and time, that is to say, reason and constancy, are alone of any avail. At the same time he believed that he had discovered a means of uniting all these troublesome matters into one head, which he would utterly destroy by completely subduing Russia in the ensuing war. Indulging in this idea he considered that when he had once

vanquished Russia he would triumph over every kind of resistance, either material or moral, which the earth could oppose to him; the commercial resistance of traders, the patriotic resistance of Spaniards, the religious resistance of the clergy, and, so to speak, the common feelings of humanity. He demanded, therefore, that his attention should be left undisturbed by anything save the one great affair, the war with Russia; and when in the midst of his journey in Holland despatches came from the Minister of Worship calling his attention to a new phase of the religious quarrel, he was excessively annoyed, and replied rather by a cry of impatience than by an answer.

The acceptance of the decree of the Council pleased him to a certain degree, but he was more gratified by the promise given by the Pope to institute the twenty-seven new bishops, for by this means the interrupted administration of the church would be re-established. The letter which accompanied and explained these concessions, however, displeased him much, for its sentiments were opposed to the doctrines of Bossuet; and Napoleon, who was averse to the existence of liberty in any quarter in which he could himself domineer, wished it to prevail wherever it would not be in antagonism with his own power; this latter case was that of the church, and Napoleon was therefore an ardent disciple of Bossuet. This being the case Napoleon resolved to accept the effective part of the pontifical letter whilst he rejected the motives on which it was based; and determined to submit to the Council of state the decree of the Council to which the Pope had assented, in order that the decree might be placed au bulletin des lois. As for the letter itself, Napoleon ordered it to be referred to a committee of the Council of State, that its conformity with the doctrines of the Gallican church might be examined, and that as much delay might be caused by the examination as was convenient. With regard to the twenty-seven new prelates he directed all steps necessary to their canonical institution to be taken as soon as possible, and that the performance of this ceremony should be immediately demanded and obtained from the Pope; but that the Prelates then residing at Paris awaiting the Pope's decision should be straightway dismissed.

These measures having been taken Napoleon continued his journey, concluded the inspection of the troops and material which were being forwarded from the Rhine to the Elbe, and then returned to Paris, which he reached at the beginning of November. Other important matters awaited him there. Prussia and Sweden had replied to his imperious summons. The former, offered the alternative of either suspending her

armaments or having Marshal Davoust march immediately upon Berlin, had submitted. The solemn promise given by Napoleon had in some degree reassured the King of Prussia, and he had only demanded the immediate discussion of the terms of the treaty of alliance, which was to guarantee to him immediate possession of his states and an increased territory on the conclusion of peace. Napoleon consented to open this negotiation, but directed that it should be protracted, in order that Russia, who believed war to be certain, might not suppose that it would be immediate.

The order sent to M. Alquier to depart for Copenhagen terrified the Prince Royal of Sweden, who was only brave in outward show, and he declared that M. Alquier, in the habit of embroiling his government with every cabinet with which he held communications, had misrepresented the interview which had taken place between them. The fact was, however, that M. Alquier had reported nothing but the exact truth. In the meantime the reigning King being very unwilling that the misunderstanding with France should be still further increased, reassumed the direction of affairs. But although the hatred of the Prince Royal was henceforth less apparent, it was by no means less dangerous; he commenced from this moment to forward the reconciliation of England with Russia; and when forced to gives some explanation to those who had assisted to elect him simply on account of their inclinations in favour of France, he declared that the misunderstanding which had so unfortunately arisen was simply the result of a misfortune under which he laboured, which he now found himself compelled to avow, and which was no less than the having inspired Napoleon with a furious jealousy.

We may well understand with what disdain Napoleon would have listened to such folly as this. He again recommended a complete avoidance of any relations with the Prince Royal, and the moderate but persevering continuance of the demands of France relative to the contraband traffic, and the injuries inflicted on the French sailors.

As soon as he had re-entered Paris Napoleon directed his ministers to examine carefully all the affairs of the administration of the country which were capable of being permanently arranged, in order that nothing might be left unsettled in the spring when he should depart for Russia; and continued to give his most sedulous attention to his military preparations; and so powerful was his system of government that it was equally effectual either in the arrangement of domestic policy or military armament. But unfortunately, however great or magnificent may be a man's genius, the

method of the universe is stronger than he, and is capable of baffling all his plans.

Before following Napoleon into the gulf into which he was now about to plunge, it is necessary to retrace the last series of events in Spain, the importance of which, in themselves as well as in relation to the great system of affairs at the period, was far from being slight. The recital of these events will form the subject of the following book.

BOOK XLII.

TARRAGONE.

EVENTS in the Peninsula—Return of Joseph to Madrid, and the state of affairs to which he returned—State of Spain, weariness of the public mind, and possibility of its submitting to assist Joseph with money and men—Critical situation of Badajoz since the battle of Albuera—Eagerness of Marshal Marmont, the successor of Masséna, to proceed to the relief of this fortress—His march, junction with Marshal Soult, and relief of Badajoz after a courageous resistance on the part of its garrison—The union of these two Marshals followed by an almost immediate separation — Marshal Soult goes to repress the insurgent bands of Andalusia, and Marshal Marmont takes up a position on the Tagus in such a manner as to be able to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo or Badajoz according to circumstances—Lord Wellington, after having failed before Badajoz is forced, by the prevalence of sickness, to take up summer quarters, but he prepares to be able to attack Badajoz or Ciudad Rodrigo at the first false movement of the French—Operations in Aragon and Catalonia—General Suchet, placed in command of lower Catalonia and a portion of the forces of this province, proceeds to besiege Tarragone—Memorable siege and capture of this important fortress—General Suchet raised to the dignity of Marshal—Recapture of Figuères, for a short period occupied by the Spaniards—Lord Wellington having made preparations for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and having approached it, Marshal Marmont quits the banks of the Tagus in September, and in conjunction with General Dorsenne, who had replaced Marshal Bessières in Castille, marches upon Ciudad Rodrigo and succeeds in revictualling it—Extreme peril of the English army—The two French Generals might, if they had been more united, have inflicted on it a severe check—Napoleon resolves to subdue Valencia before the winter—Departure of Marshal Suchet on the 15th September, and his march across the kingdom of Valencia—Resistance of Saguntum and vain attempts to carry this fortress by assault—General Blake, desiring to relieve Saguntum, offers battle to the French army——Victory of Saguntum — Capture of Saguntum—Marshal Suchet, although the conqueror, has not sufficient forces to enable him to take Valencia, and demands reinforcements—Napoleon dispatches to his aid all the available troops in Spain, under the Generals Caffarelli, Reille, and Montbrun—Investment and capture of Valencia on 9th of January,

1812—Lord Wellington, taking advantage of the concentration of all the available French troops around Valencia, hastens to invest Ciudad Rodrigo—He captures this fortress on the 19th of January, 1812, before Marshal Marmont is able to raise the siege—Unjust reproaches against Marshal Marmont—At this time Napoleon, instead of sending fresh troops to Spain, withdraws his guard, the Polish troops, half the dragoons, and a certain number of fourth battalions—He draws Marshal Marmont from the Tagus to the Douro, assigning to him the task of defending the north of the Peninsula against the English—Taking advantage of these circumstances Lord Wellington hastens to Badajoz, and takes it by assault on the 7th of April, 1812, in spite of the most heroic conduct on the part of the garrison—Napoleon, preparing to depart for Russia, makes Joseph Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the Peninsula, but leaves him with insufficient and scattered forces —Résumé of the events in Spain during the years 1810 and 1811, and the first portion of 1812.

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BOOK XLII.

We have now reached a period when it is necessary to resume the narrative of the events in Spain succeeding the undecided battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, and the lost battle of Albuera, both of which took place in May, 1811. The army of Portugal, deprived of the only chief capable of leading it, the illustrious Masséna, was scattered about Salamanca in a state of misery, discontent, and disorganisation, difficult to describe. Marshal Marmont, an intelligent and sedulous general, had devoted to it the most earnest attention from the moment of his arrival; but the evacuation of Portugal, and the apparent impossibility of driving the English out of the Peninsula, increased the confidence and boldness of the insurgents, and the turbulence of the northern provinces, whilst aggravating the sufferings of our troops as well as of the inhabitants. In this state of affairs a new circumstance occurred to increase the general wretchedness.

On the 25th of May the celebrated Mina, successor of his nephew who was in detention at Vincennes, having succeeded in forming a band of three thousand men, which he skilfully transported by turns from Navarre to the Basque provinces, and from the Basque provinces to Navarre, had assailed a convoy consisting of a thousand Spanish prisoners and a hundred waggons filled with wounded French soldiers proceeding towards France, guarded by 400 fusileers of the new guard, and 150 men of the 28th leger and the 75th of the line. Colonel Dentzel, in command of the escort, had complained of its insufficient strength to General Caffarelli, but the latter had paid no attention to his remonstrances, and the convoy had set out from Vittoria for Bayonne. Mina, always possessed of accurate information, had concealed his forces in the woods on the right and left of the Tolosa road, and when the column of prisoners and wounded, more than

a league in length, had ascended the mountain which rises beyond Vittoria, and was in the midst of the defile of Salinas, he suddenly rushed upon it, relcased the Spanish prisoners, and cruelly slaughtered with their assistance our sick and wounded. In spite of the most heroic efforts the escort was unable either to retain possession of the prisoners or to save the wounded, and lost 150 of their own number in this fatal encounter; the only consolation for which is to be found in the fact that the Spanish prisoners, being situated between the cross fire of our troops and those of Mina, expiated by the slaughter of great numbers of them, the savage cruelty of their liberator.

On hearing the sound of the musketry, General Caffarelli advanced with the reinforcements to attack Mina in his turn; but he only arrived to find the Spanish prisoners liberated, the sick and wounded slain, and Mina escaped; and instead of blaming himself, and himself alone, he blamed the brave men who had been engaged in this desperate struggle. And yet General Caffarelli was an honourable man, worthy of his illustrious brother. But this was a fresh example, amongst a thousand others, of the grievous state of confusion into which all things had fallen in Spain.

At Madrid the absence of the King, of whose return there could be little expectation, the wretchedness of the working classes, the dearness of provisions, which were seized by the roving insurgent bands even at the very gates of the capital, the fatigue, destitution, and dispersion of the army of the centre, which was exhausted in marching from Guadalaxara to Talavera, from Segovia to Toledo, without succeeding in keeping open the communications, carried discouragement and despair into the very heart of the kingdom.

In Estremadura and Andalusia affairs were no better. After the battle of Albuera, fought for the purpose of saving Badajoz, Marshal Soult had retreated to Lœrena, and had established himself on the slope of the mountains which separate Estremadura from Andalusia. From these heights he overawed the English by his presence, and afforded to the besieged fortress the best moral support it was in his power to give, and urgently and reasonably demanded that succour should be sent to him. For if the aid he demanded did not arrive, if the army of Portugal did not descend promptly upon the Guadiana, in spite of the difficulties that the heat opposed to the march of troops, Badajoz must fall, and the powerful army of Andalusia which had set out from Madrid the preceding year amounting to 80,000 men, but now, alas! very greatly reduced, would find itself deprived of a trophy which was the only reward it had obtained for all its sufferings and courage.

In Andalusia the state of affairs, although less deplorable was still extremely unsatisfactory. The siege of Cadiz, which should have been the only occupation of the army of Andalusia, whilst the conquest of Badajoz, devised by Marshal Soult as a means of avoiding entering Portugal, had but served to divide his forces and expose him to useless dangers, had made no progress. Marshal Victor, his troops having been reduced to 12,000 effective men, and scarcely sufficing to guard his lines, remained before the Isle of Leon with the flotilla he had created and the great mortars he had founded, without sailors for the former or material for the latter. Depressed and discontented at the part which Marshal Soult had compelled him to play he demanded, as the only reward for his services to the Empire, that he should be immediately recalled. In the meantime the insurgents of La Ronda had been no less troublesome to General Sebastiani, who was constantly occupied in making head at Grenada against the English on one side and against the troops of Murcia and Valencia on the other. But although a man of great wisdom and moderation he was denounced by Marshal Soult as being unequal to the government of Grenada, which however he ruled more successfully than the Marshal had ruled Andalusia, and he solicited his recall as earnestly as the Duke de Bellune.

One province and one army alone, as we have already said, presented a satisfactory aspect; namely, the province and the army of Aragon, under the command of General Suchet. This General was able and he was also fortunate, being one of those men to whom a certain degree of talent seems to attract success. He had successfully taken Lerida, Nequinenza, Tortosa, and established order and regular government throughout his province, which was additionally fortunate in being neither traversed by the French armies, forming no portion of their road, nor threatened by the English, not being their object. This portion of the country was therefore almost happy in the midst of the frightful convulsions which agitated Spain, and almost loved its conqueror in the midst of the universal hatred towards the French.

It was on the frontier of his government that General Suchet met with the most serious difficulties; Villa Campa, in the direction of Calatayud, l'Empecinado towards Guadalaxara, Mina in Navarre, and the banditti on the border of Catalonia, never ceasing to give occasion for the exertions of his troops. But this fortunate General was in command of officers and troops worthy of himself, and the conquest of these bands was but a matter of detail.

In Catalonia, on the other hand, all was disorder. The

banditti, supported and encouraged by the Spanish army of Catalonia, which held its base at Tarragone, filled it with desolation, and there was not a defile beside which they did not await to attack convoys whose escorts were too feeble, to release their prisoners, to slaughter the sick and wounded, and to seize the provisions which were being conveyed to the various fortresses, and especially Barcelona. Whilst the banditti rendered the roads of the interior impassable, the English flotillas rendered as dangerous the routes which bordered the coast. In Barcelona the garrison and inhabitants were equally in want of provisions, although a whole army, that of Marshal Macdonald, was devoted to the purpose of revictualling it, and many naval expeditions were adventured with the same object; for, in general only a fourth part of the stores sent reached their destination. General Maurice-Mathieu, who was the governor of this place, displayed as much skill as firmness in maintaining his position, and overawing the inhabitants without driving them to despair. But he wrote that it would be impossible to keep in check for any considerable time longer so numerous a population.

The Catalan army, finding at Tarragone a solid base, provisions and stores of all kinds furnished by the English navy, and a safe refuge in case of necessity, sometimes dared to venture from the sea coast on which Tarragone is situated even to the foot of the Pyrences, and, to the great astonishment of every one introduced provisions into the fortress of Figuères, of which we had been deprived by treason. Taking advantage of the moment when the French, under General Baraguey d'Hilliers, had not as yet had time to collect sufficient troops in front of the fortress to commence the siege, M. de Campo-Verde had broken through our feeble line of blockade, and had introduced both men and provisions.

We have already said what was the situation of our officers and soldiers, who, enduring greater misery than they were capable of inflicting on the enemy, and sometimes excited to excesses much to be lamented, by the sight of the cruelties which they saw inflicted on their comrades, but at all times the least inhuman of any people who ever attacked or defended the Peninsula. The soldiers, if they could only obtain a little grain or a few cattle from the uncultivated and depopulated fields, and could make boots for themselves of the skins of the animals on which they had fed, were satisfied. The officers, on the other hand, habituated and obliged to live in a manner suited to their rank, endured cruel suffering both in body and mind. They were deprived, for instance, by the

want of pay of the means of obtaining shoes for their feet. Napoleon, allotting forty-eight millions a year for pay, and leaving to the country the burden of supplying provisions, believed that he had supplied all that was necessary. But the pay for the years 1810 and 1811 should have been more than 165 millions, or more than 80 millions a year instead of 48. Of the sums due he had sent 29 millions in 1810 and 48 in 1811, that is to say, 77 millions instead of 165. What remained unpaid had been torn from the country by the agency of the military governments. Of the 77 millions actually sent by Napoleon a portion had been plundered on the way, a portion devoted to necessary purchases, or indispensable repairs of the artillery, and a part still remained in certain depôts. The army of Andalusia had received scarcely anything, and since it was quartered in a rich country would have wanted for nothing, had Marshal Soult been as good an administrator as General Suchet. The army of Portugal, however, being condemned to serve in the stony districts of Portugal or Salamanca, had been in want of the simplest necessaries; its officers presenting a pitiable sight, and having little hope of relief, since in the first place the Emperor was far away, and in the second they could present to him nothing but reverses. Where then, after the hopes conceived in 1810, after two years of fresh struggles, after the despatch of reinforcements to the amount of 200,000 men, after the sacrifice of so many soldiers and generals, and the compromise of so many illustrious reputations, of those of Masséna, Ney, Jourdan, Augereau, Soult, Victor, and Saint-Cyr, where was the conquest of Spain?

Was it the fact that this terrible country was really invincible, as asserted by an ancient tradition, and as its inhabitants delighted to believe? Excellent judges, who detested the Spanish war and had had opportunities of personal inspection, Saint-Cyr, Jourdan, and Joseph himself, did not believe this, and believed that increased resources, patience, and perseverance might still command success. Doubtless, great exertions had been already made, which would have been excessive for any object which was not so essential an one of the imperial policy, but until the end had been accomplished, the exertions which had been made were entirely ineffectual. The army of Portugal, for want of reinforcements to the extent of forty thousand men, and the supply of some millions for the purpose of procuring food and clothing, the army of Andalusia for want of twenty-five thousand additional troops, of sailors, of munitions, and a flotilla which was lying idle at Toulon; the court of Madrid for want of some millions for the payment of its employés; and

the armies of the North, for the want of twenty thousand men and some millions of money for the purpose of establishing magazines; were equally ineffectual and wretched. In fact, nearly four hundred thousand men were become useless for the want of a hundred thousand additional troops and a hundred millions of money. In all matters the greatest sacrifices are useless if they be not continued until the attainment of the desired object.

Doubtless if the hundred thousand additional troops which were required were to remain as useless as the 400,000 already sent, there would have been good reason to refrain from making this further sacrifice, but it was already easy to perceive in certain provinces, symptoms of a fatigue of which immediate advantage should have been taken. The feeling with which Spain had been excited had been violent, unanimous and legitimate; but nevertheless, after four years of war, at the spectacle of so much bloodshed and such wide spread ruin, it was impossible not to ask why and for whom so much evil was endured. A calm had to a certain extent succeeded to the first state of excitement, and left room for reflection, and in Saragossa, Madrid, Seville, and other large cities, men began to say that the princes for whom they fought were little worthy of the devotion they displayed towards them, and that the Spanish branch of the illustrious and august family of Bourbon having become utterly degenerate, deserved to be cut off; since the chief of the descendants of Philippe V., the honest and foolish Charles IV., lived at Marseilles as much the slave of the Prince de la Paix and his wife off the throne as on it; since his eldest son, a prisoner at Valençay, incessantly entreated the conqueror who had robbed him, to bestow upon him one of the princesses of the Bonaparte family, and was so much afraid of being compromised by the acts of those who endeavoured to set him free, that he denounced them to the police, and since, in the last place there was not one of the race, man or woman, who cared to extend a friendly hand to the heroic nation which poured out its blood in its cause. The Cortes of Cadiz, after having proclaimed some incontestable principles, but which were, nevertheless, very precocious for Spain, had only resulted in a species of anarchy, residing at Cadiz in a state of misery, discord, and perpetual disputes with the English. The Spaniards were well aware of these facts, and appreciated them at their true value as soon as the roar of the cannon was a moment absent from their ears. Joseph on the other hand was, in the eyes of all those who had opportunities of personally judging of his character, a gentle and enlightened Prince, a representative of the mod-

erate principles of the French revolution, and afforded good grounds for hope that his government would be one of wise reform. He was a new Prince, certainly, and it might be said that he was an usurper, imposed on the country by another usurper; but had it not always been an historical tradition in Spain that the regeneration of the country must be the work of foreign dynasties? Had not Philip V. revived the fortunes of Spain by replacing the degenerate descendants of Charles the fifth? And had not Charles the fifth himself, although the legitimate heir, been a foreign Prince, who took to Spain the brilliant civilization of Flanders when there remained there no better representative of Ferdinand and Isabella than Jeanne la Folle? Might not hopes be indulged in, then, that Joseph's reign would have similar good results? At Madrid, where the inhabitants had had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with him, he had been justly appreciated and the national animosity had almost died out as regarded him. In Aragon, where General Suchet was the representative of the new government, the population had learned to think favourably of it, and to say that, in the absence of war, it would be an hundred times better than the Prince of Peace and the Queen Marie-Louise. At the same time the incessant war, with its attendant wretchedness, and devastation, and the idea which was generally entertained that if Napoleon did not annex to his Empire the whole of Spain, he would at least seize the provinces of the Ebro, excited the enmity of even the most moderate of the Spanish population. And yet it was easy to perceive in Madrid and the surrounding districts that if Joseph had been able to recompense his various functionaries; to pay his troops, to furnish them with stores and equipments from regular magazines, instead of at the expense of the country; to maintain order and discipline as it was maintained in Aragon; to obtain from Napoleon and his Generals the respect due to the sovereign of any country, but indispensable in the case of the King of a nation so proud as that of Spain; and to dissipate the wide spread fear of the appropriation by Napoleon of the provinces of the Ebro; that some progress would have been made in reducing the country to submission.

The favourable feeling which began to arise in the capital, and which always displayed increased vigour when the state of affairs happened to be less sad than usual, showed symptoms from time to time of having spread to the other great towns; and it is a noteworthy fact that the Spanish troops, which at first had deserted as soon as enrolled in the service of the new king, began, either from weariness or from jealousy of the guerillas, to display fidelity, provided they

were duly paid. Even the guerillas themselves, who were mere bandits, desirous of nothing but pillage, began to be gradually attracted by the prospect of pay, and an amnesty having been accorded to a certain number in La Mancha, around Toledo, in the neighbourhood of Guadalaxara, they had submitted and enlisted in the King's service.

None of these favourable symptoms existed in the hotbeds of insurrection, where the popular passions were still energetic and obstinate, where the English excited and fostered every sentiment hostile to France, where hopes of success were still fervently entertained, and where especially pillage was excessively lucrative; but although the position of the French in the Peninsula was one of great difficulty; it is quite certain that the exhaustion of all classes of society, and especially of the peasant class, and the absence of any reasonable object to be obtained by the protraction of the struggle, (for the recovery of the Bourbons of Marseilles and Valençay certainly was not such an object), would have occasioned the submission of the Spaniards; had one last and powerful effort been made; had the English, above all things, been expelled; had the necessary forces for the attainment of this object been employed; had the capture, which was quite possible, of Lisbon and Cadiz been secured; had the Guerilla bands been suppressed, and the imitation of their ferocities been refrained from; had the reinforcements necessary for the attainment of these objects been supplied; and had not only these reinforcements been supplied, but the expences of their maintenance also, thus releasing the country of the greater part of the miseries of war; and finally, had there been added to these resources a power, impossible to be exercised from a distance, of general direction,—had, in fact, not a portion but almost the whole of the resources of the Empire, and the attention of the Emperor himself been devoted to Spain, it is almost certain that a successful result would have been obtained. A portion only of the preparations which had been made for the Russian war, would have sufficed for deciding in our favour the question which had been excited by the Spanish mission. Napoleon was wrong to make Spain the theatre on which was to be decided the great European question, but having once transferred it thither he should there have decided it.

When Joseph, driven to despair, had quitted Madrid to go to demand of Napoleon either the adoption of another method in the conduct of Spanish affairs, or permission to re-enter into private life, many honest persons at Madrid, Valladolid, Burgos, and Vittoria, had said to him:—see how much we have to endure, and judge for yourself whether it

will be possible to induce us to submit by such a régime as this! Our habitations are pillaged, and burnt, and ourselves assassinated by your soldiers and those who call themselves ours, and our lives and property are thus at the mercy of brigands of every nation. We can hope for no good from the anarchical government of Cadiz, or the corrupted government of Ferdinand, and we would willingly resign ourselves to obtain all that we need from your hands; but deprived, for ever, perhaps, of our colonies, we are now threatened with the loss of our provinces of the Ebro, and no disposition is displayed to render our submission honorable. You yourself are despised and publicly insulted at the moment when endeavours are being made to render you our King. How then can you expect us to submit? Your functionaries, treated with contumely by the French Generals, and almost dying with hunger, are reduced to the necessity of supporting themselves on soldiers' rations. How then can they command the least respect?

You go to Paris—report our words to the Emperor. Your departure is interpreted in two ways: by your enemies, as the signal that the veil of pretence is about to be laid aside and that Spain is speedily to be declared a French province, in the same way as Lubeck, Hamburg, Florence and Rome; by your friends, the number of whom is small, as a recourse to the superior genius of your brother, for the purpose of informing him of that of which he is ignorant, and perhaps for the purpose of inducing him to come hither and give his personal attention to the direction of affairs. You refrain from saying that the latter are right. Hasten to Paris, then, tell the truth, obtain reinforcements, and at the same time authority for yourself to act effectually, and for us a reassuring declaration with respect to the maintenance of the integrity of our territory. The moment is propitious, for in spite of your apparent reverses, in spite of the temporary successes of your opponents, there is a general weariness throughout the country which may speedily be converted into submission or despair;—despair which would be terrible to those who might have provoked it.

These words, proceeding from the mouths of men worthy of credit, had been reported at Paris by Joseph, who, having proceeded thither for the purpose of being present at the baptism of the King of Rome, had remained there during May, June, and July. But unfortunately Joseph was subject to certain weaknesses which, although very pardonable in themselves, prevented Napoleon from entrusting him with the necessary authority. He was, as we have before said, a good, honest, sensible man, but indolent, prone to pleasure,

expense, and the society of flatterers (and with regard to a fondness for flattery there is but little distinction between the characters of princes, whether ancient or modern), far too surely convinced of his possession of military talents, and very jealous of his authority. The existence of these defects in his character had thrown a certain degree of suspicion over his demands for more troops, more money, and the command-in-chief of the armies in the Peninsula, and had induced Napoleon to receive them so badly that the intervention of a third person became necessary to prevent the recurrence of unfortunate scenes between the two brothers. Prince Berthier had been selected as Major-General of the armies of Spain, and it would have been impossible to have selected a more judicious or discreet man, or one better informed on all points. Unfortunately he had not as much influence as talent, and if incapable of perverting the truth, was not, nevertheless, sufficiently courageous to declare it plainly. Moreover, Napoleon was at this moment exasperated against his brothers. Louis had but recently thrown at his feet the crown of Holland; Jerome, who had received Hanover in addition to Westphalia, on condition of supporting certain charges, had not fulfilled his engagements, and had been punished by the deprivation of a certain portion of Hanover, and Murat, a worthy but fickle and turbulent man, excited by his spirituelle and ambitious spouse, had bitterly displeased his brother by excessive extravagance and neglect of his navy, and was, moreover, accused by him of having under various pretexts held communications with the English along the coasts of his kingdom. Finally, we have already seen, how greatly Napoleon was irritated by the half treasons of Cardinal Fesch. The unfortunate Joseph arrived, therefore, very mal à propos for the purpose of declaring unpleasant truths. Napoleon had had him informed that if he were desirous of abdicating as Louis had he was perfectly at liberty to do so; that his brothers might at any time freely quit the thrones he had bestowed on them, that he was able to dispense with their services, and that the adoption of this conduct by them would even simplify the affairs of Europe, but that in the meantime they were not only Kings but also Generals under his orders, and that he would not suppose that they would desert their posts without informing him previously, and receiving his permission. Such was the first explosion of Napoleon's excitable temperament; and this having passed off the intervention of Prince Berthier had been the means of obtaining explanations somewhat calmer and more precise. Joseph had declared that it was essentially necessary that he should receive the respect due to him

as the brother of the Emperor, and King of Spain, and that the Generals should not be permitted to treat him, as they did, with contempt; he also asserted that the Generals were so much at variance with each other that there was danger of their sacrificing to their mutual jealousies the lives of their troops; and added, that if it were desired to bestow upon him suitable dignity, to re-establish unity of system in the conduct of the military operations, and to prevent excess and pillage, it was necessary to endow him with the supreme command, at the same time appointing as chief of his staff some Marshal worthy of confidence, and sending to him from Paris instructions to which he would scrupulously conform; leaving in the provinces only judicious and able lieutenant-generals. He also declared that it was a matter of no less urgency, if it were desired that the exasperation of the Spaniards against the French should subside, that the devastating system of nourishing war by war should be renounced, and that instead of endeavouring to obtain money from Spain money should be sent thither, to be repaid at a future time; and that if he, Joseph, were supplied with a subsidy of from three to four millions a month, he would have well paid and faithful functionaries; an army of Spanish troops entirely devoted to him, and more effectual than French troops for the suppression of the guerilla bands, a portion of whom, also, would be induced by the offer of pay to enlist in his service. That if it were preferred to convert this subsidy into a loan he would repay it within a few years, and would give a thousand French troops in exchange for each million advanced. And if, he said, the army were well paid and supported, and employed in the pursuit of the English army, and if Spain were assured that she would not be deprived of the provinces of the Ebro, a condition of calm peace would spread around Madrid, and would thence extend to the provinces, so that before long, Spain, being in a state of complete submission, would restore to France her armies and her treasures, and a second time be governed, to the advantage of both nations, by the policy of Louis XIV. But if on the contrary, he concluded, the existing system were persisted in, Spain would then become the tomb of Napoleon's armies, the confusion of his policy, and probably the source of his own fall and the ruin of his family.

All these allegations were true with the exception of a few trifling errors, which, however, served Napoleon as a pretext for the refusal of the most well founded demands. That the moment was a favourable one for the subjection of exhausted Spain, and that if the English were once expelled this subjection would not be long delayed, was suf-

ficiently evident from what had taken place in Aragon and even around Madrid. That the use of a few millions of money would render possible the creation of a devoted administrative service, and a faithful Spanish army, which would be of effectual service as a police for the interior, might fairly be expected from what had taken place at Madrid; that, without supplying the place of Napoleon himself, which would have been difficult, the appointment of a firm and able chief of the staff, such as General Suchet, for example, endowing him with absolute authority over all the Generals, and placing at his disposal sufficient troops and money, would be the means of attaining the conquest of Cadiz, and the pacification of Spain, was evident from the conquest of Tarragone and the pacification of Valencia. And there could be no doubt that, by entrusting to Masséna, with the aid of a hundred thousand men and sufficient means of transport, the expulsion of the English, the united genius of Suchet and Masséna would bring to a conclusion this cruel war, which, if ill conducted, might easily be the gulf in which would be lost both the fortunes of Napoleon and of France. But it was an error of Joseph's to suppose that he did not need thousands of men as well as millions of money; it was an illusion to suppose that he was capable of commanding, and that it was only necessary to appoint some complaisant courtier chief of the staff, for there was need of a real General commanding in chief, of such a man as General Suchet, who was a talented warrior, an able governor, and a conciliatory politician.

Whilst there was much truth, therefore, there was some error in the system propounded by Joseph, and this was sufficient to excite Napoleon's pitiless railleries against his brother's pretensions. To be a General, he said, required something more than mere ability to sit a horse, and to give some signs of command. To be a General, a man should unite to profound intelligence, a decided character, great powers of application, and a habit of paying constant attention to the least details. For his own part, Napoleon continued, he had the statements respecting his troops always on his table, and they formed his favourite reading; he carried them to bed with him and read them when he could not sleep; and that it was by virtue of this natural aptitude of spirit and character, of his incessant application, and immense experience, that he was able to command and to ensure obedience, since his soldiers placed in him implicit confidence; but that as far as Joseph was concerned God had not made him a General; that he was by nature gentle, spirituel, and indolent; that pleasures were necessary to him and too much work injurious; that men were in the habit of instinctively

detecting this sort of disposition, and would laugh at the idea of being commanded by such a general, whilst jealousy would induce them equally to decline to obey the officer appointed to advise him. For these reasons, he said, Joseph could not be entrusted with any larger command than that of the army of the centre. As for the demand for money he declared that he had none, and complained that his brothers, although ruling the richest countries in Europe, were perpetually demanding it of him. Spain, he said, contained sufficient for the supply of the whole world, and if Joseph knew how to govern he would be able to procure the necessary funds for the purposes of administration as he had already procured funds for gifts to his favourites, for the erection of royal residences, and the maintenance of a species of luxury which was out of place in the present situation of his affairs. With respect to the sufferings endured by Spain, he said that they were misfortunes for which there was no remedy, that the French soldiers suffered equally; that war was war, and that the Spaniards must patiently submit to inevitable evils. He laughed at Joseph's pretensions to the possession of the art of fascinating populations, and at his hopes of performing with millions of money what could only be done with thousands of men; declaring that the turbulence which existed in Spain could only be quelled by numbers of troops and the exercise of great vigour, and that when terror had once produced submission, that benign system of government which all nations had a right to expect might succeed.

In adopting a tone of ridicule in reply to Joseph's demands Napoleon did not behave with good faith, for he was far too clear sighted not to perceive to what extent they were well founded; but he could not change his system or devote to the war in Spain what he had destined for the war in Russia; and he was anxious, therefore, to continue the war in Spain with only the same resources, trusting that in any case success on the Borysthéne would compensate for any want of it on the Tagus; a calamitous idea arising partly from comparative ignorance of the distant places respecting which he calculated, and partly from the giddiness of over prosperity.

This being the state of affairs, the journey undertaken by Joseph for the purpose of persuading Napoleon to alter his system with respect to Spain could have no result, or at least could but effect some slight changes in it of no real value. When the first explosion of his irritation had passed away Napoleon, whose severity only lasted for the moment, and who moreover was sincerely attached to his brothers, granted cer-

tain changes, which were rather formal than real. Joseph was still confined to the command of the army of the centre, but was to exercise over all the provinces civil, judicial, and political authority. The Generals were directed to respect him as a King and the Sovereign of a country of which the provinces were temporarily occupied in accordance with the necessities of the war, and if, which was very improbable, Joseph should ever be tempted to join one of the armies of the Peninsula it was to be immediately given up to him. Moreover, recognising the utility of increasing his influence over the provinces of the north, across which passed the line of communication with France, and where a large portion of the population was thoroughly wearied and disposed to submit, Napoleon offered to Joseph to replace Marshal Bessières, Duke of Istria, by Marshal Jourdan. The difficulty would be to induce the latter to return to Spain, and to accept office from Napoleon, between whom and himself there existed a mutual dislike, and to whose want of moderation he was especially adverse.

With respect to his finances, Joseph actually needed four millions a month for even the moderate support of his various functionaries in the capital and the central provinces, his household expenses, and the Spanish guard; of these necessary four millions, however, he had obtained but one, having been reduced, for his whole revenue, to the *octrois* of Madrid. This being the case, Napoleon consented to grant him a subsidy of a million a month, and to give up to him a fourth part of the contributions levied by all the Generals in all the provinces of Spain; by which it seemed probable that the four millions would be completed. But what chance was there that the Generals, leaving their troops unpaid and having the greatest trouble to obtain means of carriage from one part of the country to another, would take out millions from their chests for the purpose of sending them across Spain? General Suchet, indeed, might do this, although he had resolved, after having provided for the maintenance of his troops, to devote all the surplus revenue to the necessities of the country, and, in fact, as we shall see, he did do it; but he was the only one who had either the will or the power.

With respect to the serious question of the territorial integrity of Spain, Napoleon held the most evasive language; declaring to Joseph that he was very desirous of leaving him in possession of his kingdom in its existing proportions, but that it was necessary, for the purpose of intimidating the Spaniards, to inspire them with the fear of losing some of their provinces if they still obstinately resisted; and that, indeed, if the war were much longer protracted, and became

the source of much more expense, France would require some indemnity for her sacrifices. He advised, therefore, that the Spaniards should be rather terrified than reassured on this point. In the meantime, being unwilling to have a fresh family quarrel which would end, as was the case with the King of Holland, with the abdication of the King of Spain, Napoleon endeavoured to soothe his brother's anxieties, to encourage him, and inspire him with hopes; declaring to him that he was sending a large reserve force to the Peninsula, and that Suchet, after having taken Lerida, Mequinenza, and Tortosa, would capture Tarragone and Valencia; that when this conquest had been achieved, there would be an army which might be directed to the South; that the army of Andalusia would then be able to assist the army of Portugal, the organisation of which was actually proceeding; and that the reserves which were at that moment crossing the Pyrenees would recommence in the autumn a campaign against the English, which would probably be more fortunate than the preceding one; that the submission of the Peninsula would thus, within a short time, be attained, when the military commands would cease of themselves, and Joseph would resume the full exercise of his royal authority. Strange and terrible delusions these, which Napoleon doubtless shared to some extent, but to a less degree than he asserted, for in his ideas Spain was now but of secondary importance, and all that went wrong in the South was to be compensated for by success in the North.

Joseph, although disgusted at his sovereignty, which presented to his eyes nothing but spectacles of misery, was nevertheless anxious to avoid a family quarrel, which must result to Napoleon in the desertion of another of his brothers, and to himself in a relapse into private life, contented himself with these empty promises, and departed for Spain, less miserably anxious than he had arrived, but little encouraged by Napoleon's vague declarations.

Traversing Vittoria, Burgos, and Valladolid, he found the inhabitants still more wretched than they had been on his departure, and he could only console them by repeating the empty promises which had been made to himself, and to avoid importunate questioning hastened to Madrid, where everything had become worse since his departure. The only real advantage he had obtained by his mission to Paris had been the promise of the receipt of a million a month from Paris. Two of these millions were due; the first of which had been expended in Joseph's journey and residence at Paris, whilst the second was to come with the military convoys, and had not yet arrived. The grant of a fourth

part of the contributions levied on the country by the military governors had no effectual result, and Joseph was again reduced to the octrois of Madrid, and fell into a state of greater poverty. Also, during his absence neither the members of the Royal household nor the Spanish guard, nor any of the functionaries had received a piastre. To add to the general misery a terrible drought had rendered the harvest so bad all over the continent that the price of provisions had risen to an extravagant height; and Joseph only returned to his capital to be present at a scene of the greatest wretchedness. He again transmitted his complaints to Paris couched in terms even bitterer than those of the letters written previously to his journey. But Napoleon, fully occupied with his one great object, paid no attention to them; and the reserve which had been withdrawn from Italy, and which was actually on its way towards the Pyrenees, was the only succour which he had troubled himself to send to Spain.

This being the state of affairs it would have been best to have employed this reserve in consolidating the position of the French, and forming, by uniting it with the army of Portugal, a body capable of keeping the English in check, of disputing with them either Badajoz or Ciudad Rodrigo, and of preventing them from making any progress in the Peninsula until Napoleon should have settled in the North all those questions which he had resolved should there be determined. The fatal Andalusian expedition, which probably Marshal Soult had intended should atone for that of Oporto, and by means of which Joseph had proposed to extend his royal authority over a new country, and which had caused us to fail at Cadiz and Lisbon, for the sake of Badajoz, the conquest of which decided nothing, and which had caused us to neglect the principal object of this war by uselessly dispersing 80,000 men who would have sufficed for the expulsion of the English;—this deplorable expedition, we say, should have served as a lesson, and if a retreat were not made from Andalusia upon La Mancha, which would certainly have been the wisest course to pursue, whilst Napoleon was in the North, it would have only been commonly prudent to have paused at the borders of the conquered country, and to have then taken up a solid position. General Suchet would there have been able to keep possession of Aragon, and even to capture Tarragone, whence the Catalan insurrectionists drew their resources; Marshal Soult would have been able, without the capture of Cadiz, to guard Andalusia; and finally, the army of Portugal, reinforced by the reserve which had arrived, would have been in a condition to follow all the movements of Lord Wellington upon

Ciudad Rodrigo or Badajoz, in order to frustrate them. But Napoleon, judging of the state of affairs from a distance, and imagining that they were as he desired they should be, believing that Joseph had but demanded money for his own extravagant purposes, and that the Generals demanded reinforcements only in accordance with their habit of requiring more troops than they needed, was persuaded that by granting a portion of the reserve to General Suchet he would be able, Tarragone once taken, to subdue Valencia, and that when Valencia had been vanquished it would be easy for him to advance towards Grenada; that Marshal Soult, being thus set free on that side, would be able to advance towards Estremadura, and that joining the army of Portugal, then reinforced by the reserve, he would be able in conjunction with it to hurl back the English towards Lisbon. As, moreover, he did not intend to recall the guard and the Polish troops before winter, and the reserve, he calculated, would arrive at the end of the summer, he considered that there would be time during the autumn to make great progress in the affairs of Spain, and to conquer almost the whole of the Peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, before that he himself should have set out for the North. Such were the fresh illusions on which he founded his plan of operations for the close of the year 1811.

But in the meantime, whilst the reserve was still to arrive, and Tarragone still to be captured by General Suchet, Marshal Soult, posted at Llerena, within sight of Badajoz, demanded to be aided in his attempt to save this place which, in spite of its heroic resistance, was on the eve of surrender. Marshal Marmont, a generous companion in arms, and eager to distinguish himself at the head of the army of Portugal, spared no pains in his preparations to fly to the succour of Badajoz. Although Napoleon had recommended him to undertake nothing until his troops should have had some repose, should be properly equipped, and provided with horses, he did not hesitate to commence his march as soon as their most urgent necessities had been supplied. Well knowing that in conjunction with Marshal Soult his army must be numerically strong, he was more careful with respect to the quality than the number of the troops which he took with him, selecting from the 40,000 men, which were all that remained to him after the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, 30,000 effective troops, of whom 3000 were cavalry. The artillery he took with him, only amounted to thirty-six pieces of cannon; a small number, but as many as circumstances permitted him to employ. After having in some degree restored the discipline and physical vigour of his troops by a month

of repose and liberal rations, he resolved to comply with the urgent entreaties of Marshal Soult, and to execute a movement upon Estremadura, descending by the col de Banos upon the Tagus, crossing this river at Almaraz, and advancing by Truxillo upon the Guadiana, Foreseeing the difficulty he would have in obtaining subsistence for his troops in the very impoverished valley of the Tagus, especially in the month of June, he required of Joseph's commissariat that it should send him by the Tagus to Almaraz three or four hundred thousand rations of biscuit; together with a pontoon equipage which he knew to be at Madrid, that the passage of the river might not be a cause of delay.

All these precautions having been taken he had recourse to a feint for the purpose of deceiving the English, and retaining them before Ciudad-Rodrigo whilst he marched upon Badajoz. With this intention he had stores prepared as though his sole intention were to revictual Ciudad-Rodrigo, and proceeded thither on the 5th of June with his advanced guard, and a portion of his army, whilst Reynier with the remainder of the army in two divisions, passed the col de Banos, descended upon the Tagus, and with the matériel which had come from Madrid, made preparations for effecting the passage of the river at Almaraz. General Spencer, who remained on the Agueda with some English and Portuguese troops in the absence of Lord Wellington, who had led three divisions under the walls of Badajoz, was unable to make head against the French army, and did not even attempt it. He fell back before General Marmont's advanced posts, and the latter was able to communicate without difficulty with Ciudad-Rodrigo, and to throw into it the stores which he had brought with him. This operation having been successfully accomplished, the Marshal promptly retraced his steps, and rejoined Reynier upon the Tagus, without attending to the objections of Marshal Bessières, who declared this movement of the army of Portugal premature, and even a source of much danger to the north of the Peninsula, whilst no considerable portion of the reserve had yet entered Castille. Marshal Marmont, nevertheless, persisted in his resolution, and continued his march towards Estremadura.

It was time that he should appear before Badajoz, for it was certain that it must surrender, if not speedily relieved. Marshal Soult, although joined by General Drouet with the ninth corps, which had been ordered to throw itself into Estremadura after the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, having still no more than 25,000 effective troops, did not dare to hazard a battle with the English army, which numbered 40,000

men, since the arrival of Lord Wellington with three divisions. He could not even inform the besieged garrison, so closely were they blockaded, that he had come to their aid; but the former resolved to perish with arms in his hands, and to yield neither to threats of assault nor to assaults themselves, had determined rather to bury themselves under the ruins of the fortress than surrender it. There is indeed no example in the whole history of sieges, a species of warfare so fertile in the case of Frenchmen in illustrious facts, which surpasses the defence made by the garrison of Badajoz during the months of April, May and June, of the year 1811.

After having sustained a first siege from the 22nd April to the 16th of May, the date of the battle of Albuera, and having during all that time checked by a superior fire the approaches of the enemy, who had lost a thousand men without succeeding in effecting a breach; and after having been again invested after the battle of Albuera, without having received a single additional man or sack of wheat, this brave garrison had been, from the 20th of May, besieged by an army of 40,000 men.

The English had not been wanting, on their side, in making efforts for its capture, and had directed them in the east against the castle and in the north against the fort of St. Christoval, situated on the right bank of the Guadiana. The waters of the Ravillas, retained by a bar, had become a powerful means of defence for the castle; but unhappily it was built upon a projecting tongue of land, and exposed its sides to the English artillery, which, continually attacking it with no less then twenty pieces of cannon, had completely demolished its high towers and exterior bastions. The terres however, being of great thickness in this part, had preserved their escarpment, and the garrison by clearing the foot of the breaches under an incessant fire of grape, grenades, and howitzers, had rendered them impracticable. Besides this, Lamare, the governor, had raised an interior entrenchment behind the breach, flanking it with cannons, loaded with grape; and General Philippon, posted at the spot with the best troops, prepared to receive the assailants at the point of the bayonet. These preparations having become known to the English they had changed their plan of operations, and directed all the fury of their attack against the fort of St. Christoval, on the other side of the Guadiana, and having made two breaches in the right bastion, had resolved to carry them by assault before even having carried their approaches to the edge of the fosse. Five hundred infantry, with some artillerymen and engineers defended the threatened bastion, under Captain Chanoin of the 88th; and the besieged did

not fail to clear, as they had at the castle, the foot of the walls under the enemy's fire, and had, moreover, strewed the bottom of the ditch with obstacles of all kinds, disposed a line of bombs at the summit of the breach, and placed cannon loaded with grape on the flanks, and a line of grenadiers provided with three muskets each, in the rear. On the night of the 6th of June seven or eight hundred English bravely leaving their trenches, and advancing openly some hundreds of metres, arrived at the edge of the fosse, and were compelled to jump in, the counterscarp not having been demolished, and had then attempted to scale the breach. But the fire of musketry receiving them in front, the grape shot of the cannon taking them in flank, and the bombs rolling down upon their legs, they had been compelled to retreat, leaving three hundred killed or wounded in the fosses of fort St. Christoval.

The brave garrison, which had in this affair but five or six of their number wounded, was filled with enthusiasm and only desired the repetition of such attacks; whilst the population, suffering cruelly from the fire of the English, and almost desiring the success of the French, as a means of saving them from the horrors of an assault, were also inspired with feelings of great admiration. The English, confused and irritated, had avenged themselves during the following days by overwhelming the unfortunate city with murderous projectiles, and attempted to enlarge by powerful reinforcements of artillery the breaches of fort Saint Christoval. On the 19th of June they made a new and equally bold attempt to carry the two breaches. 200 men of the 21st under Captain Joudiou and the sergeant of artillery Brette, defended them, and had taken the same precaution to render the enemy's success almost impossible. In the midst of the night the English threw themselves from their trenches into the fosses and escaladed the ruins of the walls; but our grenadiers, overwhelming them with discharges of musketry at the foot of the breaches and then rushing upon them with the bayonet, drove them back from this second unsuccessful attempt with frightful carnage.

There was now no kind of danger capable of intimidating this brave garrison; but unfortunately provisions began to fail, and there was fear that, worn out as it was with fatigue and privations, it would be compelled to yield to want although not to the assaults of the enemy. But the approach of an army of relief, although unknown to the defenders of the fortress, was known by Lord Wellington, who was always informed of our movements, and on the 10th of June, having received information of the march of General

Reynier upon the Tagus, the English General determined to raise the siege and began to withdraw his troops; the chief reason for this determination being that the munitions of war collected at Elvas had been exhausted, and that it was necessary without loss of time to employ all the available means of transport for the purpose of obtaining more from Abrantès, the principal depôt of the British army, twenty-five leagues distant.

On the 13th and 14th of June accordingly, Lord Wellington, excessively vexed at having uselessly lost 2,000 of his best troops under the walls of Badajoz, and at having been twice repulsed before a place defended by a mere handful of French, successively broke up all his camps, and retired on the 17th upon Caya, falling back upon the mountains of Portalègre, and taking up a well chosen defensive position, as was his custom when in the presence of the impetuous troops of the French army.

When the brave garrison perceived the enemies' camps disappearing, they were at first in doubt respecting what could have occurred, but speedily learnt with transports of joy which were shared by the population, that by means of its own bravery and the succour which had arrived, the second siege was to end as the first had done, in their own triumph. In fact, Marshal Marmont, after having lost some days before the Tagus, on account of the insufficiency of the means of crossing it at his command, for they had only been able to forward to him from Madrid a portion of that which he had required, had at length crossed the stream, traversed the mountains of Truxillo, and on the 18th of June entered Merida; effecting on the same day his junction with Marshal Soult, who gave him the most hearty thanks for the aid he thus received, without which he must have endured the disgrace of seeing the capture by the enemy of Badajoz, which was the sole trophy of the two years' warfare in Andalusia.

On the 20th of June the two Marshals, whose forces numbered over fifty thousand men, made their entry into Badajoz, congratulated the heroic garrison which had so valiantly defended the fortress entrusted to their courage, distributed amongst them the rewards they so well deserved, and carried their advanced posts close to the English, who, at the sight of the enemy, remained carefully shut up in the camp.

If this excellent army, which, with the exception of that of Marshal Davoust, was the best in Europe, being composed of veteran troops of Austerlitz, d'Jena, and Friesland, and having endured, in addition to its other long campaigns, three years of the most formidable species of warfare in the

Peninsula; if this excellent army, we say, had been commanded by a single Marshal instead of two, and this Marshal had been Masséna, it would not have failed to have sought an encounter with the English, and made Lord Wellington expiate the success he had already obtained, which was due in some degree, certainly, to his own indisputable merit, but in a greater degree to the errors and the passions of his adversaries. But Marshal Soult, rejoiced at having escaped the disgrace of seeing Badajoz fall before his eyes, was not disposed to risk new hazards; whilst Marshal Marmont, feeling the greatest distrust of his colleague, was little inclined to act in concert with him; and was also disinclined to compromise the successful result of his march by risking the chances of a decisive battle, There was no one, in fact, in the French army, save Masséna, whose ardent military patriotism burned so fiercely at the sight of the enemy, that forgetful of himself he only cared to destroy or to be destroyed by the enemy before him.

The two Marshals committed the error, and it was one of the greatest of the errors committed at this time, of remaining with fifty thousand men in the presence of forty thousand of the enemy, amongst whom there were, moreover, only twenty-five thousand English, without attacking them. They passed some days in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, for the purpose of supplying its wants, reinforcing the garrison, repairing the breaches made in the walls, and filling its magazines which were now positively empty. Many of the inhabitants had fled at the time of the first siege, many more had followed their example at the approach of the second, and the fear of a third driving away a certain number of those that still remained, the city was thus almost empty. And this would not have been an evil, if the portion of the population which remained had not been, unfortunately, the most poor, the least capable of providing for their own subsistence, and the most difficult to keep in order.

The two Marshals had scarcely been in company a few days before a quarrel broke out between them. Marshal Soult had long been absent from Andalusia; for, having set out from Séville to fight the battle of Albuera, and having then determined to remain in position at Llerena, he had desired to draw the army of Portugal definitively within the circle of its operations, to leave to it the protection of Badajoz, to devolve upon it, thus, this most difficult portion of his task, and be able at length to devote his undivided forces to the siege of Cadiz, which had been so unfortunately neglected for that of Badajoz. This idea was a very natural one but somewhat unreasonable, for the necessary position of the

army of Portugal was Salamanca, for the preservation of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and for the defence against the English of old Castille, which was the base of operations of all the French armies. It was certainly within its proper line of operations, but only just within it, when following the English from the north to the south it disputed with them the possession of Badajoz. But to demand that it should establish itself permanently in Estremadura, was to require it to abandon its principal object for an accessory one. Had it done so, in fact, Lord Wellington would have been able to capture Ciudad-Rodrigo (as a similar error subsequently enabled him) and, by proceeding to Valladolid, to cut off the French communications. It must be added that to confine the army of Portugal at Badajoz by leaving it there alone, was to condemn it to the powerless state in which Marshal Soult had been at Llerena, and to the distress of seeing Badajoz captured under their very eyes. Reduced to thirty thousand men, as it actually was, it could effect nothing, and the only means by which it could again number forty or forty-five thousand troops was by returning to the north, and rallying all those which it had left sick, wounded, or exhausted at Salamanca.

Marshal Soult, pressed by the letters which he received from Seville, presented himself one morning before Marshal Marmont, to communicate to him his state of embarrassment and his wishes, and threw the man into a state of the greatest astonishment and distrust. And certainly, to leave Marshal Marmont alone at Badajoz was to expose him to the danger of being attacked by more than forty thousand of the enemy, whilst he had only thirty thousand with which to oppose them; and to satisfy the most ardent wishes of Lord Wellington, who awaited upon the Caya the abandonment of one of the Marshals by the other in order to overwhelm him. Marshal Marmont, who was very distrustful of his colleague, believed that he saw in this proposition an example of unheard-of ingratitude, and a perfidious desire to expose the army of Portugal to some signal disaster, and indulged, on the strength of this gratuitous supposition, in the most profound resentment The truth was, that whilst Marshal Soult was far from wishing to compromise the army of Portugal, since he must, indeed, have suffered with it, he was nevertheless anxious to throw upon it the most ungrateful part of his task, and be thus at liberty to attend to his own affairs. Marshal Marmont replied with extreme severity, that if he wished to depart, leaving at Badajoz the bulk of the army of Andalusia, nothing could be easier, for it would remain to him, Marshal Marmont, to command the two united armies;

and that otherwise he himself would depart immediately, and would not return upon the Guadiana until he was assured of finding there a force sufficiently numerous, when united to his own troops, to vanquish the English. Having said this to Marshal Soult, he also expressed it to him in writing, in dry and peremptory terms, and made preparations for departure.

Since they would not remain united to give battle to the English, the two Marshals could do nothing better than place Badajoz in a fair state of defence, and then proceed, each in his own direction, to perform their essential duties. The presence of Marshal Soult in Andalusia was, in fact, indispensable, and nothing but a great victory over the English could have excused his not being there; and it was equally necessary that Marshal Marmont should proceed towards the north of the Peninsula. Marshal Soult, therefore, quitted Badajoz on the 27th of June, with a large portion of his army in order to proceed to Seville; only leaving General Drouet d'Erlon with two divisions and some cavalry to serve as a corps of observation around Badajoz. This was an error, for this corps, useless if the English departed and insufficient if they remained, could not but be compromised, as the result speedily showed, and it would have been better to have simply left in Badajoz a garrison of ten thousand men in lieu of five, with stores in proportion, and to have withdrawn the whole of the army of Andalusia. Badajoz would thus have been better able to defend itself, and Marshal Soult more capable of fulfilling the task assigned to him.

However this might be, he marched from Badajoz to Seville, and Marshal Marmont placed himself en route towards the Tagus. The English, exhausted by two fruitless sieges, and being without the matériel necessary to recommence a third, and having in their ranks many sick who had acquired upon the bank of the Guadiana the fevers of Estremadura, established themselves upon the Sierra de Portalègre, having need of repose, and taking up their summer quarters, which, in that burning climate, are equivalent to winter quarters in the north.

Marshal Marmont, whose mission as General in chief of the army of Portugal, was to oppose the undertakings of the English, in the first place in the north, where was one principal line of communication, and in the second place in the south, selected with great discernment the part of the Tagus between Talavera and Alcantara, as that from whence he could most easily execute his various duties. He was able, in fact, from the banks of the Tagus, by the col de Banos,

to reach Salamanca in four marches, to effect then a junction with the army of the north, and in concert with it to succour Ciudad-Rodrigo. And from this same position he could also speedily descend, by Truxillo, upon Merida and Badajoz, and unite there, as he did, with the army of Andalusia. Having determined upon this situation he chose the bridge of Almaraz as the centre of the communications which he had to guard, and adopted as his head quarters the village of Naval-Moral, situated between the Tagus and the Tiétar, and covered by these two rivers. He commenced operations by strengthening as much as possible the bridge of Almaraz, providing it with two strong têtes de pont; and as there were on the plateau de l'Estremadura towards the col de Mirabele dominant positions whence the works of Almaraz might be advantageously attacked, he constructed many forts on these positions, placing in them small garrisons. He also constructed on the Tiétar a bridge and a tête de pont, in such a manner as to render it equally easy to debouch from the one side or the other upon the enemy whom it might be necessary to encounter. These precautions having been taken he cantoned one of his divisions at Alvaraz, and disposed his light cavalry in echelons on the Truxillo road, in order to scour Estremadura, receive provisions, and obtain news from Badajoz. He established another of his divisions at Naval-Moral in order to guard his head quarters, and placed two at Placentia so as to be always ready to pass the mountains and descend upon Salamanca, and one at the col de Banos itself, to be always ready to debouch on old Castille. Finally, he left the sixth division on his rear to defend against the insurgents the rich province of Avila. When he had completed this wise and skilful distribution of his forces which permitted him to march upon Estremadura or Castille with equal rapidity, Marshal Marmont devoted his attention to the formation of magazines, the reparation of his artillery, and the care of his sick and wounded which remained around Salamanca. In the meantime, being situated on the confines of the army of the centre, and finding himself involved in disputes with it respecting the distance to which he might extend his search for provisions, he proceeded to Madrid, in order to come to an understanding with Joseph, with whom he had been very intimate, and with whom, in accordance with a fatality peculiar to all Spanish affairs, he had had many violent disputes, although the disposition of each was gentle, and they were extremely partial to each other.

It will be remembered that Marshal Bessières had feared much the effect which would be produced upon the northern provinces by the withdrawal of the army of Portugal, and

had made strenuous efforts to prevent its departure. The English, on their side, had indulged in hopes that these provinces would rise in insurrection as soon as the army of Portugal ceased to be in the midst of them. It happened, however, that these fears and hopes were equally unfounded, and, in spite of the exertions of the regency of Cadiz, the Castilians, almost as weary of the guerillas as of the French, had remained tranquil. At the same time the guerilla bands had taken advantage of the opportunity to attempt some enterprises. Marquesita had surprised Santander and committed great ravages throughout this province. The insurgents of Leon had harassed General Seras, but had been dispersed by some regiments of the young guard under Marshal Bessières, who, fearing that he could not occupy, at the same time, Burgos, Valladolid, Salamanca, Leon, and Astorga, had dismantled the works of Astorga, and withdrew from the Asturias General Bonnet, who had for three years maintained his position in these difficult provinces, with as much vigour as ability, even keeping in check Galicia, which did not dare to revolt, from the fear of being taken à revers. To recall him from the Asturias was, therefore, an error, which left the Asturians and Gallicians at liberty to descend upon Castille. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, Marshal Bessières was quite in a position to keep Castille in check, and was about to be reinforced, moreover, by the division Sonham, one of the three which composed the corps of reserve actually on its march to the frontiers of Spain.

Events of the utmost importance, and reflecting much glory on our arms, although productive of little addition to our power, occurred, in the meantime, in Catalonia and Aragon in connection with the army of General Suchet. It will doubtless be remembered with what vigour and what precision General Suchet conducted the sieges of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Tortosa, the success of which, coming after the capture of Girone, almost completed the conquest of Aragon and Catalonia. Nevertheless, Tarragone, the most important of the fortresses of this country, remained untaken, being protected, in addition to its own strength, which was great, by its contiguity to the sea and the support of the English fleets. It served, therefore, as the support, the asylum and inexhaustible magazine and arsenal for the insurrectionist army of Catalonia; and the necessity for its siege and capture was, accordingly, so urgent, that General Suchet had made with this view immense preparations; collecting a large and superb park of heavy artillery at Tortosa, together with 1500 horses. And all these preparations, General Suchet had been able to make without ruining the

country, by virtue of the repose which he had bestowed upon the province under his command, and the system of regular contributions which he had substituted for forcible seizures.

Besides the magazines of grain which he had made in Aragon, and in the portion of Catalonia entrusted to his care, General Suchet had collected great numbers of cattle, partly by purchase from the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, and partly by carefully preserving those which were seized from the insurgents of Soria and Catalayud. His stores being thus prepared he had distributed his army in such a manner that Aragon should not be left exposed to the enemy, whilst he should proceed to lower Catalonia for the purpose of the capture of Tarragone. When Napoleon had detached the lower portion of Catalonia for the purpose of confiding it together with Aragon to the command of General Suchet, he had granted to him at the same time sixteen or seventeen thousand men of the army of Catalonia, and had replaced them in that army by one of the three divisions of the corps of reserve. With this reinforcement General Suchet had forty thousand troops under his command, of whom he left twenty thousand to guard Aragon, whilst he destined the other twenty thousand for the siege he was about to undertake, and marched them upon Tarragone in two columns; the one of which, under General Harispe, descended from Lerida, whilst the other, under General Hubert, extended from Tortosa.

Tarragone, which consisted of a garrison almost equal in number to the army which was about to besiege it, and possessed formidable natural and artificial defences, was situated on a rock, bathed on one side by the waters of the Mediterranean, and on the other by the waters of the Francoli, which passed under its walls, and was divided into upper and lower town. The upper town was surrounded by old Roman walls and modern works of considerable *relief*; whilst the lower town, situated at the foot of the upper town on the level ground beside the Francoli, and on the sea shore, was defended by a bastioned enceinte, regularly and strongly fortified. Above from the amphitheatre formed by the two towns there was visible a fort called fort l'Oliva, built upon a rock, commanding all the environs, and communicating with the town by an aqueduct. Four hundred pieces of heavy artillery defended these three series of fortifications, which contained a garrison of 17,000 excellent troops under a good governor, General de Contreras, as well as a fanatical population, which was thoroughly resolved to defend the place to the utmost. In addition to these means of defence the English fleet was able to keep the place constantly supplied with fresh stores of

provisions, and to supply the place of those of the garrison who might be killed or wounded, with fresh troops from Catalonia and Valencia.

From whatever side Tarragone might be approached it presented equal obstacles to an attack. On the south and east was the escarpment of the rock, a series of well constructed lunettes, which united the enceinte of the two towns with the sea, and moreover the English fleet; on the north side was a dry and stony soil and the fort of l'Oliva, which of itself demanded a regular siege; and finally, on the ascent from west to south, were the two towns, the one built above the other, with two series of fortifications in the low grounds and marshes bordering the Francoli. All the approaches to the place were, therefore, equally difficult, and its capture could only be effected by a long siege, which the Catalans and Valencians under the influence and support of the English would not fail frequently to interrupt.

All these difficulties, however, were far from daunting General Suchet, who regarded Tarragone as the most certain pledge for the security of Catalonia and Aragon, and as the key of Valencia. His two principal lieutenants were of the same opinion and were ready to second his intentions with the utmost zeal. These were the general of engineers, Rojmat, a sagacious and determined man, and profoundly skilled in his art, and Valée, a general in the artillery, a man of a just and noble temperament, who joined to the greatest keensightedness on the battle field, that administrative forethought which is so indispensable to officers of his branch of the service. After having conferred with his lieutenants General Suchet determined to attack the place on two sides at once, first on the south-west, by the low ground on the bank of the Francoli, bordering the low town, which it was necessary to capture before attempting to take the high town; and at the same time on the north by attacking the fort l'Oliva.

Whilst the approaches were being opened in front of the low town, two of the bravest regiments in the army, the 7th and 16th of the line, under the young General Salme, attacked the fort l'Oliva, before which the trenches were opened on the night between the 21st and 22nd of May. There was in front of this fort a work from whence the labour of opening the trenches received considerable interruption, and which by passing into our hands would serve as a protection for the troops engaged in it. Our soldiers, therefore, rushed upon it, and took it at the point of the bayonet. But the Spaniards, who prided themselves on being invincible, in the defence of their fortresses, and who had

considerable reason for indulging in this pride, assaulted it in their turn to the number of eight hundred, and threw themselves upon it with furious cries, under the leadership of intrepid officers, who planted their colours at the very foot of the work they had resolved to recapture. But the men of the 7th and the 16th, first pouring in upon it a volley of musketry, rushed upon this audacious column which thus attempted to snatch from them the fruits of their late victory, and drove it back under the very walls of the fort. L'Olivo presented a large surface without having much depth, and consisted of a line of bastions built upon a rock, with fosses hollowed out of the rock, and having in the rear an indented wall which communicated with a postern gate of the fortress. Within these was an entrenchment a little more elevated than the fort itself, and capable of offering a second means of resistance against a victorious enemy. There were twelve hundred men and fifty pieces of cannon of heavy calibre in these formidable works, and they could, moreover, easily obtain reinforcements from the town, which in its turn could receive them to an unlimited extent by means of its communication with the sea.

The approaches were carried on for many days under an incessant fire, and with considerable loss, amounting daily to fifty or sixty in killed or wounded, to the brave regiment which had obtained the honour of conducting this first siege. At length, being desirous of abridging the duration of a labour which proved so fatal to our ranks, they hastened to establish a breaching battery at a little distance from the fort, and it was ready to receive the artillery on the evening of the 27th. The employment of horses was impossible on such ground, and our soldiers, therefore, harnessed themselves to the pieces and drew them up under a horrible fire of grape, which destroyed a great number of them without checking the ardour of the others. In the meantime the enemy, perceiving what was the object of the groups on which they fired, determined to frustrate it by a vigorous sortie. The young and valiant General Salme, with a reserve of the 7th, marched to repel it, and at the moment when he was crying *En avant*, met his death. He was adored by his soldiers, and deserved their affection both on account of his courage and nobility of mind. Eager to avenge his death they threw themselves upon the Spaniards, and drove them at the bayonet's point under the very walls of Olivo. In the meantime the twenty-four pounders had been placed in the battery, and on the following day, at dawn, the fire opened upon the right bastion, opposite to our left.

So short was the interval between the opposing batteries that the effects of the artillery on each side were terribly destructive. Within a few hours a breach was opened; the battery played on the breach during the whole of the following day, and it was then resolved to attempt an assault, whatever might be the result obtained by our artillery; for fifteen days had already been spent before Tarragone, and if a single work could not be taken at such a cost of men and time, it was necessary to despair of being able to take the place itself.

Although they had suffered considerable losses, the 7th and 16th of the line had not abandoned to others the honour of carrying by assault the fort before which they had executed the approaches. A column of the 7th consisting of three hundred men, led by an officer named Miocque, advanced to throw itself directly into the breach, whilst a second column of the same strength, consisting of soldiers of the 16th under commandant Revel, was to attack the right of the fort, and attempt to penetrate by the gorge. General Harispe was ready to support these two columns with a reserve; and all the army was directed to be under arms and to feign a general attack.

In the midst of the night the signal was given for the commencement of the assault. Our sharpshooters opened a vigorous fire around the two towns, as though an attack were about to be made upon the enceinte itself. The enemy, in a state of the utmost confusion, opened fire from all their batteries without knowing in which direction the enemy was approaching; whilst the English fleet at the same time commenced a cannonade along the shore. For the purpose of enabling them to discern in what direction the threatened danger was approaching the Spaniards threw out fire pots; whilst they mingled their infuriated cries with the prolonged hurrahs of our soldiers.

During this state of confusion, which was planned on our side, the two assaulting columns rushed out of the trenches, and were exposed for forty-five or sixty paces to the fire of the fort l'Olivo. Arriving at the brink of the fosse hollowed out of the rock, they threw themselves into it, and whilst the column under Miocque ran with its scaling ladders to the right, to the breach which was but imperfectly practicable, the other, under Revel, turned to the left, to assail the fort by the gorge. At this moment 1200 Spaniards, sent to aid in the defence of l'Olivo, had just entered, and the gate closed upon them. A captain of engineers, named Papiguy, at the head of thirty sappers attacked this gate with hatchets, and as it resisted their efforts seized a scaling ladder, with

the intention of passing over it, but at that moment he fell, struck by a ball, and fell breathing the name of his mother. In the meantime Revel taking advantage of the circumstance that in this place there was no fosse, applied ladders against the escarpment, and the sappers and the grenadiers scaling the wall leaped into the fort, and opened the gate to the column. At the same moment Miocque's column, advancing to the breach and finding it impracticable, planted their scaling ladders, which were too short, until Meunier, a sergeant of sappers and miners, lending his strong shoulders to the voltigeurs, they were enabled to ascend, and entering the fort, to assist their comrades. This method of entrance was, however, both too slow and too fatal, and another party having sought another way, an officer of engineers, named Vacani, fortunately discovered it in the extremity of the aqueduct which supplied l'Olivo with water, and which was only protected by palisades. The two columns under Revel and Miocque having entered therefore by these various ways, threw themselves upon the Spaniards, who abandoned the fort and withdrew behind the entrenchment, where, being followed, and seeing scarcely any hope of safety they defended themselves with despair, and as they outnumbered our troops, and the escarpment of the entrenchment aided their defence, it appeared probable that they might be able to defend l'Olivo against us successfully. But the brave General Harispe advancing with his reserves, and five hundred Italians, under Marcogna and Sacchini, reanimated by their presence the ardour and confidence of the assailants. In one mass they scaled the entrenchment, and transported with rage, put to the edge of the sword the obstinate defenders of l'Olivo. General Suchet and his officers arrived in time to save a thousand men, but about nine hundred Spaniards had already fallen. The shouts of victory informed both the besieged and the besiegers of this important triumph.

There were found in l'Olivo fifty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of cartridges; and no time was lost in turning the works of this fort against the fortress. Reassured respecting the result of the siege by the success just obtained, but terrified at the losses which the example of this success appeared to foretell, General Suchet desired to take advantage of the moral effect produced by it upon the two armies to tempt the garrison by conciliating words, and the proposition of a truce, the pretext of which should be the interment of the dead. The garrison replied, however, in accents of disdain and rage to the overtures made by General Suchet, and it was evident that nothing would be gained except by force. As the season rendered the ground hard

and difficult to excavate, and the exhalations from the corpses dangerous, it was necessary to burn them, instead of burying them, and unhappily the number was considerable.

L'Olivo having been thus taken, the approaches were opened in front of the lower town, and a series of redoubts were erected along the coast, which were armed with very heavy artillery, for the purpose of keeping the English at a distance, and as a protection against their gun boats. The trench was opened at a hundred and thirty toises from the enceinte which formed the point proper to attack. There were on this side two bastions very close to each other, that of Chanoines on our left, and that of Saint-Charles on our right; the latter being connected with the wall of the port and the quay. The mass of fire, therefore, to which those who carried on the approaches would be exposed, was not very considerable, since they could only receive that of the bastions towards which they approached. Somewhat above, indeed, and in the rear of these bastions, was the fort Royal, and on our right, on the sea shore, was another little fort, named Francoli, because situated on the mouth of that river; this latter work was attached to this fortress by a bastioned wall; and it was determined, that whilst the approaches should be continued towards the two bastions des Chanoines and Saint-Charles, a breaching battery should be directed against fort Francoli.

Twenty-five pieces of cannon having been distributed amongst various batteries, which fired at once on the place itself and the fort Francoli, speedily succeeded in opening a breach, which was perfectly practicable to an assault from our dauntless troops. Although it had a scarp and a counterscarp, of masonry, and fosses full of water, it was resolved to attempt the assault immediately, and St. Cyr Nugues, chief of the staff of General Suchet, conducting three little columns of infantry, led them to the attack on the night between the 7th and 8th of June. Our soldiers threw themselves into the fosses up to their breasts in water, and climbed the breach under a violent fire from the enemy. The Spaniards resisted desperately at first as usual, but as the work was only connected with the town by a communication both narrow and long, they feared their retreat might be cut off, and fled, therefore, towards the fortress. They were pursued by our soldiers, who shouted "to the town, to the town;" with the hope of being able to terminate the siege by a coup de main, but a terrible storm of fire and formidable works compelled them to stop, and convinced them that this hope was a vain one. Colonel St. Cyr Nugues drew back his troops into the fort Francoli, and hastened to

make it tenable, and to turn against the roadstead the newly captured artillery.

This was the second work carried by assault, but there still remained many others to be taken by the same means; and among these was a lunette, named the Prince, resting on the sea, and occupying the middle of the wall which connected the Francoli fort with the fortress. A breach was effected in it, and on the 16th it was taken after another assault, which was long and murderous. There now remained no more obstacles to the attack of the two bastions of St. Charles and Chanoines. The one on the right, that named St. Charles, and covered the walls of the fort; whilst the other on the left covered the angle formed by the west front of the enceinte, with the north front of fort Royal.

If the enemy's batteries were not very extensive, they were very formidable on account of their height, and it was most probable that this attack would cost us many soldiers, in the formation of the approaches, in the service of the batteries, and the assault itself, which would doubtless be fiercely resisted, since on its success, or the reverse, depended the fate of the lower town and the fort itself.

General Suchet was ardently desirous of accelerating the siege, for besides the daily loss of troops, which in the space of one and twenty days amounted to 2,500 men, he perceived difficulties accumulating around him on all sides. The English fleet, escorting an immense convoy, had reinforced the garrison with 2000 men, provisions, and military stores of all kinds, and supplied it with a brave officer, General Sarsfield, who was to conduct the defence of the lower town. It had then disembarked on the Barcelona road the Valencian division, consisting of 6000 men, which was to join General Campo-Verde, who, at the head of the Catalan army, was in command of 15,000 men, with which he kept the field, hoping to seize our convoys, or to surprise us in our trenches, in concert with the garrison and the fleet.

General Harispe, established on the Barcelona route with his two divisions, one Italian and one French, kept a careful watch for attacks from this quarter; whilst General Habert, posted with a French division on the banks of the Francoli, guarded the Tortosa route by which arrived our convoys of artillery, and that of Reus, by which came our convoys of provisions. The remainder of the troops were employed in carrying on the siege. Precautions were taken against an attack whether from without or within, and General Suchet had perfect confidence in the ability of his valiant soldiers to resist either. But our outposts, echeloned on the route of our convoys, had every day to maintain conflicts with de-

tachments of Campo-Verde's troops, and this General himself boasted of having received large reinforcements, and of being about to receive more. At the risk therefore of weakening his line of defence against the insurgents of Teruel and Calatayud under Villa-Campa, General Suchet determined to call to his aid General Abbé with a brigade. As the fate of the country depended on the result of the siege of Tarragone, it was necessary to sacrifice everything to the purpose of effecting its capture.

Influenced by the above reasons, and seconded in his endeavours by the boundless enthusiasm of his troops, General Suchet lost not a day nor an hour in the prosecution of the siege. The second parallel was already opened, and a series of batteries had been arranged which, embracing in their vast circuit the bastions Chanoines and Saint-Charles, would be capable of breaching both, and the fort Royal also. General Suchet hoped to be able by a general and simultaneous assault to carry the lower town and all its defences; and flattered himself that after having made this grand effort, he might consider the difficult conquest of Tarragone almost accomplished.

Forty-four pieces of heavy artillery opened fire whilst the works in the trenches were still carried on, and were energetically answered by the cannon of the fortress, which was almost the double of ours. Thus our épaulements were continually overthrown, and our brave artillerymen, undaunted in the midst of the ruins, continually rebuilt the destroyed works and replied to the enemy's fire, whilst completely exposed to it, whilst the infantry seconded their exertions with the utmost devotion.

On the 18th the third parallel was completed. A subterranean passage led into the fosses of the two bastions, the counterscarp was overthrown, and the openings were completed, by which the assaulting columns were to enter the fosses and throw themselves into the trenches.

On the morning of the 24th of June, at the very moment when Badajoz was rejoicing at its deliverance by the two Marshals, all the batteries both old and new opened fire on the walls of Tarragone, which replied with the utmost vigour. The chief of our batteries was overthrown by a powder magazine; but Colonel Ricci, who was almost buried under the ruins, having been promptly rescued, reestablished the battery, and again turned its fire against the enemy. In the meantime the infantry eager to rush to the assault, with loud cries urged on the artillerymen to fresh exertions, and the latter responding to their wishes redoubled their activity and zeal.

In the evening three breaches were judged practicable, one in the bastion des Chanoines, another in the bastion Saint-Charles, and a third in the fort Royal, General Suchet and the officers who aided him with their councils to hazard the result of the siege on a general assault, either to fail at once or to carry the lower town, the capture of which would ensure that of the upper town. The conduct of the assault was, accordingly, entrusted to General Palombini, and 1,500 grenadiers and voltigeurs, together with sappers furnished with scaling ladders, were placed under his charge; General Montmarie taking up a position a little to the left, with the 5th leger and the 16th of the line, as a reserve, and a precaution against a sortie from the fortress; whilst still more to the left two battalions of the 7th of the line supported General Montmarie himself. It was also arranged that a vigorous fire should be opened from fort l'Olivo upon the two towns, and that General Harispe should threaten the opposite front with his whole division. The Spaniards on their side placed General Saarsfield, with the best soldiers, in the lower town. We may also observe, as an instance of the rage with which the opposed troops regarded each other, that the summons to surrender usually made before an assault was now neglected.

At seven o'clock in the evening whilst it was still daylight, three columns threw themselves simultaneously upon the three breaches. The first composed of select men of the 116th, 117th, and 121st, under the command of Colonel Bouvier, of the Engineers, rushed into the breach in the bastion des Chanoines, and attempted to wrest its possession from the Spaniards who defended it, and after a desperate struggle succeeded in arriving at its summit and repulsing the enemy, to be in turn repulsed by the latter; but our troops returned to the charge, and held their ground with desperate tenacity. A hundred grenadiers rushing upon a lunette somewhat to the right, speedily carried it, and then hurried to the bastion des Chanoines to the aid of the troops under Colonel Bouvier. in the meantime a second column under the Polish officer Fondzelski, consisting of men selected from the ranks of the 1st and 5th leger, and the 42nd of the line, threw themselves upon the bastion Saint-Charles, and were met by the most determined resistance. But, supported by a third column under the command of Colonel Bourgeois, they maintained their ground in the breach, and ultimately remained masters of it. Fondzelski then pursued the Spaniards across the low town, whilst Colonel Bourgeois, who followed him, proceeded to the left, to the aid of Colonel Bouvier in his attack on the bastion des Cha-

noines, which, by means of these various reinforcements, was speedily taken, and the united troops threw themselves upon the Chateau Royal.

In the meantime General Saarsfield, coming up with a reserve, furiously attacked Fondzelski's troops, which had already taken possession of half the lower town, and which now, in accordance with the instructions they had received, withdrew into the houses, and obstinately defended them. Fortunately Colonel Robert of the 117th, with the aide-de-camp of the General in chief, M. de Rigny, who brought up a reserve of the 5th leger, 42nd, 115th, and 121st of the line, supported Colonel Fondzelski, drove back Saarsfield's troops, and advanced as far as the walls of the upper town.

The assault which had commenced at seven was concluded at eight; its result being to give into our possession almost a hundred pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of munitions, a few living prisoners, a great number of the enemy's killed and wounded, the bastions St. Charles and des Chanoines, the fort Royal, all the lower town, the port and the batteries which defended it. Without loss of time a fire was opened upon the English squadron, and it immediately set sail. The losses of our troops in this fierce combat, in which they had had to contend with 5000 Spaniards, amounted to 500 men hors de combat, whilst that of the enemy was about 1300 killed, and about 200, for the most part wounded, who fell into our hands.

We had already undertaken four murderous assaults, and this was not the last which we should be compelled to make in the course of the siege of Tarragone,—a siege which is a memorable example of heroism, whether as regards the besiegers or the besieged. It now became absolutely necessary to bring the siege to a conclusion, for the English fleet, having proceeded a second time from the south to the north off the coast of Catalonia, had reinforced General Campo-Verde with a new Spanish detachment, and a corps of 2000 English. There still remained at least 12,000 men in the upper town, with an immense artillery, and a sortie from within might at any time surprise us. On the 24th, in fact, considerable agitation was visible amongst the garrison, and mounted couriers were seen in the direction of Barcelona. The General in chief posted General Harispe, to whom he entrusted the most difficult undertakings, on the Barcelona road, with two divisions of all the cavalry, whilst he himself took up a position between the fortress and the troops of General Harispe, ready to throw himself upon the point where his presence might be most necessary.

The trench was opened upon a sort of slightly inclined

plateau rising to the upper town, and on a level with the roofs of the houses of the lower town. Our first and only parallel embraced almost the whole front of the upper town, composed in this part of four bastions, and had for its principal object the establishment of two batteries, to be directed against the bastion Saint-Paul, which was the last to the left. The works were vigorously proceeded with, in order that a breach might be speedily opened, for it was not expected that this noble garrison, after having endured four assaults, would shrink from the last, although it would thus expose itself to being put to the edge of the sword. One of our heralds having presented himself out of the trenches waving a white flag, had only received injurious treatment for answer. A deserter having given information of a projected attack from without, to take place on the 29th, the General in chief made every arrangement that the last assault should be made on the evening of the 28th. The construction of the breaching battery was hastened, and having been completely armed on the night of the 27th, the troops performing with enthusiasm the difficult task of placing the pieces in their positions, on the 28th of June, which was to be the last day of this memorable siege, the French opened fire at dawn with some anxiety, for it was absolutely necessary that a breach should be effected in the course of the same day. Three hundred good marksmen, posted in favorable positions, kept up a constant fire upon the enemy's embrasures, for the purpose of destroying their artillerymen, and the Spaniards, boldly exposing themselves, were no less assiduous in firing upon ours. But nothing could daunt our artillerymen, or check the zeal with which they continued the cannonade which was to open to us the walls of Tarragone. At length, towards the middle of the day, the breach appeared to widen beneath our continued fire. Our soldiers, thronging from every side of the camp, gazed eagerly at this spectacle, whilst the Spaniards from their ramparts provoked us to the utmost of their power with cries and taunts.

About five o'clock in the evening General Suchet determined to attempt the assault, in order to avoid a combat by night, if, as it had been said, the great street de la Rambla, which ran transversely across Tarragone, should be barricaded and defended. General Habert, who had captured the town of Lerida, was to conduct the assault; and five hundred men in two detachments, of the select companies of the 1st and 5th leger, the 14th, 42nd, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, and 121st of the line, and the 1st Polish regiment of the Vistula, were placed under his orders. A second column of almost equal force, taken from the French and Italian troops

present at the siege, were placed under the orders of General Ficatier, and held in reserve. On the left and on the north front which formed an angle with the west front which we attacked, General Montmarie was posted, at the head of the 116th and 117th, with the object of endeavouring to carry by escalade the gate du Rosaire, near the bastion which had been breached, and opposite to the extremity of the rue de la Rambla. These arrangements having been completed at half-past five, the General in chief gave the signal, and the first column, running across a certain space in which they were completely exposed, turned aside to avoid the aloes growing at the foot of the rampart, thence proceeded in a straight line to the breach, and commenced to ascend it under a terrific fire; whilst the bravest of the Spanish troops, armed with muskets, pikes, and axes, shouting furious cries, awaited them at its summit. For a moment our soldiers were on the point of yielding to the patriotic fury of the Spaniards, but at a signal from the General in chief a second column advanced, led by General Habert, Colonel Pepe, Captain Ceroni, and all the aides-de-camp of General Suchet, MM. de Saint-Joseph, de Rigny, d'Aramon, Meyer, Desaix, Ricard and Auvray. With these was also an Italian sergeant named Bianchini, who, as a recompense for prodigies of valour performed in the attack on fort l'Olivo, had demanded and obtained the honour of marching at the head of the last assault of Tarragone. This reinforcement gave a vigorous impulse to our first columns, and the two columns arrived together at the summit of the breach. The brave Bianchini, after having received many musket shots, still advanced and fell. The youthful Aramon was stricken down with a wound in the thigh. Our troops now penetrated into the town, some to the right and others to the left, for the purpose of turning the barricaded streets, and especially the rue de la Rambla. The General in chief immediately sent forward General Ficatier's reserve to take part in this second combat, which might be very desperate, as the garrison still numbered ten or twelve thousand men who were resolved to defend themselves to the death. In the meantime General Montmarie advanced towards the gate du Rosaire with the 116th and 117th of the line, and dashed into the fosse under a murderous fire. He had desired to plant ladders against the gate, but he found it walled up and barricaded. A knotted cord, suspended from one of the embrasures and serving the Spaniards as a means of ascent, was then discovered by our voltigeurs, who seized hold of it and climbed up one after the other, whilst the regiments remaining in the fosse received the fire from the walls; but scarcely had a few of our brave voltigeurs penetrated by

this means into the place than the Spaniards rushed upon them, and they must have been overwhelmed had not an officer of engineers, named Vacani, entered the town with a detachment of sappers, who opened the gate du Rosaire with hatchets, and gave admission to the troops of General Montmarie, who then advanced into the interior of the upper town and attacked the barricades of the rue de la Rambla in conjunction with the troops of Generals Habert and Ficatier. Our troops were now thoroughly exasperated and bayonetted all whom they met. A troop of the enemy having fled towards the cathedral, they pursued them to this edifice, which was ascended by sixty steps, and having rushed up these steps in spite of a murderous fire, slew them all without mercy. Finding, however, that there were here some hundreds of wounded they stayed their hands and spared them. At the same moment eight thousand men, the sole survivors of the garrison, having gone out by the gate of Barcelona endeavoured to save themselves by the side of the sea; but General Harispe, throwing himself across their path, compelled them to give up their arms; and from this moment both the upper and lower towns and the forts l'Olivo and Francoli were equally in our power.

Such was this horrible assault, the most terrible perhaps which had ever taken place; at least up to that time. The breaches were covered with the corpses of French soldiers, but the town was strewed with a far larger number of Spanish soldiers. The most extraordinary state of disorder prevailed throughout the streets; from time to time some fanatical Spaniards courted death for the sake of yet destroying a few Frenchmen. Our soldiers, yielding to a feeling common to all troops who have taken a town by assault, regarded Tarragone as their property, and overran the houses, in which they committed, however, more waste than pillage.

But General Suchet and his officers had little difficulty in prevailing upon them to refrain from conduct which they assured them was an extreme and barbarous use of the rights of war. Gradually order was restored, the flames were extinguished, and account was taken of the trophies which had thus been obtained. Three hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with an immense number of muskets, projectiles, and munitions of all kinds, twenty flags, and ten thousand prisoners, amongst whom was the governor de Contreras himself, whom General Suchet treated with the utmost respect, although the resistance which had rendered necessary the last assault had been an act of useless despair, and this assault might have been spared as well to the French as the Spaniards themselves. But patriotism should ever

be honoured, however extreme. Besides the ten thousand prisoners the enemy lost six or seven thousand by fire and sword. Our own losses were about 4,300 men put hors de combat, of whom a thousand or twelve hundred were dead, and fifteen or eighteen hundred so much injured as to be incapable of again serving in the ranks. We lost besides about twenty officers of engineers, for this corps, always distinguished in the French army, had displayed as much courage as talent in the course of this memorable siege, which had lasted almost two months, during which nine breaches had been opened, and there had been five assaults, three of which, namely, those of fort l'Olivo and of the lower and upper towns, were amongst the most furious ever known.

The capture of Tarragone was an event of the utmost importance; for it deprived the Catalan insurrection of its chief support, divided it from the Valencian insurrection, and was calculated to produce throughout the whole Peninsula an immense moral effect, of which full advantage might have been taken, if we had been prepared at that time to overwhelm the Spaniards with a vast concourse of troops. But, unfortunately, we were not so prepared, and in consequence of the exclusive devotion of Napoleon's mind to other designs, the only result of this great siege was to open to us the Valencian road. General Suchet had been ordered to dismantle Tarragone, in accordance with Napoleon's desire that Tortosa should be the only fortress occupied in this part of Spain, and he only consented to preserve Tortosa on account of the mouths of the Ebro; but as Suchet perceived, in common with General Rogniat, that by preserving only the upper town it might be occupied with a thousand men, he dismantled only the works of the lower town, leaving in the upper a garrison well provided with stores of all kinds, endeavoured to reassure and draw back the inhabitants, placed his park of artillery and munitions in Tortosa, sent back the principal detachments to the posts from which they had been drawn, in order to repress the guerilla bands, which had become bolder than ever during the siege, and then, with a brigade of infantry, pursued Campo-Verde; but although he conducted the pursuit with the greatest activity he was not able to come up with him. In the course of his pursuit of Campo-Verde he laid siege to the famous convent of Mount Serrat, and his troops took it almost immediately by the exercise of incredible boldness. He thus rendered all the services he could to the army of Catalonia, which was completely occupied in the blockade of Figuères, and the periodical revictualling of Barcelona, and then re-entered Saragossa, to put in order the affairs of his government; and

there found a Marshal's baton awaiting him; a just reward for his services; for if the results of the sieges of Aragon and Catalonia, which were the best conducted sieges since Vauban, were due in great measure to the exertions of the officers of engineers, and the brave soldiers of the army of Aragon, they were also due in great part to the military skill of the General in chief, and the profound wisdom of his system of administration.

The months of July, August, and sometimes September, could not but be in Spain months of inaction. The English were incapable of any active movements during these burning months; and our soldiers, although extremely active and inured to privations, had nevertheless need of some repose after their incessant marches. Nevertheless, in consequence of his forced sojourn in Andalusia Marshal Soult had left affairs in so unsettled a state that he was compelled to be very active during these months so generally devoted to repose. Two Spanish divisions which under General Blake had taken part in the battle of Albuera, had been detached by Lord Wellington for the purpose of disturbing Séville. But instead of marching directly thither they had proceeded to the district of Niebla, towards the mouth of the Guadiana; and Marshal Soult having sent in pursuit of them one of his divisions retired with the remainder to Séville, to bestow upon the affairs of his government that attention which they required. He found the insurgents of the mountains of Ronda, always very active, occupied in laying siege to the town of Ronda itself, and those of Murcia, after having forced the 4th corps to shut itself up in Grenada, daring to advance even as far as Baeza and Jaen, to a position from which they could interrupt the communications between Andalusia and Madrid. It was necessary, therefore, to march at once upon Ronda, Jaen, Baeza, and Grenada, to repress this insurrectional boldness; and Marshal Soult, taking advantage of the departure of Marshal Victor and General Sebastiani, had abolished the system of corps d'armée, which was always bad except where Napoleon himself was actually present; had persisted in only leaving 12,000 men including artillerymen and marines, before Cadiz, and then recalled the detachment which had been sent to Niebla, and the presence of which had been sufficient to compel the two divisions of General Blake to re-embark.

He had had himself preceded by General Godinot, at the head of a detachment which comprised three good infantry regiments, the 12th leger, the 55th and 58th of the line, and the 27th of dragoons, with directions to drive the insurgents from Jaen and Baeza, whilst the main body of

troops advanced directly upon Grenada. The insurgents, although numerous, made no more determined a defence than they usually made in the open country, and successively abandoned Jaen and Baeza, to retire into the kingdom of Murcia. The Marshal entered Grenada, rallied there a portion of the 4th corps, and on the 8th of August quitted this city to continue his march. In the meantime the insurgents of Murcia having joined Generals Blake and Bellesteros, who had come in English vessels from the mouths of the Guadiana as far as Almérie, had taken up a strong position at la Venta de Baul, and numbered altogether about twenty thousand. The steep and almost inaccessible position which they occupied opposed great difficulties to an assault, and we at first lost some men in unsuccessful attempts. But General Godinot, having driven from Jaen the insurgents of Murcia, advanced to turn the position, and had scarcely appeared on the left of Marshal Soult when the Spaniards retired with the utmost haste into the province of Murcia, making a most disorderly retreat, and dispersing about the country to be put to the sword by the cavalry of General Latour-Maubourg. The prompt and entire dispersion of this corps was a guarantee, not that they would not again appear, but that they would not prove troublesome to us for at least some months. And now Marshal Soult, having posted in Grenada a portion of the troops of the old 4th corps, and sent reinforcements to Ronda under General Laval, entered Séville, to proceed at length with the siege of Cadiz, and to provide all that was necessary for its prosecution.

The remainder of the month of August was passed in almost complete inaction; Marshal Soult granting a little repose to his troops, which from the original number of eighty thousand were now reduced to forty thousand at the most, and disputing with Joseph the possession of various detachments which he demanded for the army of the centre from the army of Andalusia. At the same time Marshal Marmont, who remained encamped on the Tagus in the neighbourhood of Almaraz, was also continually quarrelling with Joseph with respect to the districts from which he had a right to draw forage for the troops under his command; whilst Joseph, himself never ceasing to utter complaints, was demanding that in default of the fourth part of the contributions levied by the Generals, which they constantly declined to forward, Napoleon should send him an additional million a month; and could only rejoice in one consolation, which was, the appointment of Marshal Jourdan to be the chief of his staff. In the meantime Marshal Suchet, acting according to his own views and involved in no such disputes, was quietly preparing the

expedition of Valencia, which Napoleon had directed as the necessary consequence of the capture of Tarragone; and finally, General Baraguey-d'Hilliers, specially charged with the blockade of Figueres, having driven back the Spaniards who attempted to make their escape, compelled them to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and thus to expiate the surprise of this frontier fortress.

During these months of inaction Lord Wellington formed his plans for the renewal of operations in September, and included in his projects nothing less than the capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz. In fact, since he had succeeded in freeing Portugal from the presence of the French, this plan was the best that he could have formed, for these fortresses were the keys of Spain, the one in the north and the other in the south; and once master of them he would be able to prevent the French from invading Beira or l'Alentijo, and could easily avail himself of the first opportunity for the invasion of Castile or Andalusia. Another reason which led him to form this plan was, that he was anxious to perform some decided action, six months having now elapsed since Portugal had been reconquered without adding any remarkable performance to his former exploits. What he had done had been much praised in England, and with good reason, although perhaps this praise had been a little exaggerated, for it generally is so in cases in which it is paid after having been too long withheld. The opposition party in England, however, still existed, and partly in good faith, partly in conformity with systematic resistance to the course pursued by the government, whilst they confessed that Portugal was saved for the time, declared that no further success would be gained, and that the maintenance of a ruinous war in the Peninsula, would most probably have no result equivalent to the risk to which it constantly exposed the English army, of being driven into the sea by the French. Lord Wellington therefore was urged by an infinity of reasons, some of them military and others political, to perform some fresh distinguished action, and to capture either Badajoz or Ciudad-Rodrigo, two obstacles which rendered impossible, whilst possessed by the enemy, every ulterior operation of any importance.

The task which he thus proposed to himself was, however, by no means an easy one; for if he advanced to Badajoz it was to be presumed that he would find there the united forces of Marshals Soult and Marmont; and if he advanced to Ciudad-Rodrigo he would there meet Marshal Marmont reinforced with whatever detachments he might be able to procure from the armies of the centre and the north. In

either case he would run the risk of encountering forces too considerable to permit him to attempt a great siege in their presence, for according to his custom, he was unwilling to engage the enemy save when in almost impregnable defensive positions, and when possessed of a numerical superiority in force which, in conjunction with his advantageous position, would render the result as certain as any warlike operation could be. Nevertheless, although Lord Wellington might be compelled to meet either in the south or the north, forces superior in numbers to his own, he yet had in his favour many great advantages. The route which he had formed for himself within the frontiers of Portugal, from north to south, over which he had already passed so frequently, and which descended from Guarda to Espinhal, from Espinhal to Abrantès, and from Abrantès to Elvas, had been opened with great care, furnished with numerous magazines, and provided with bridges on the Mondego and the Tagus. He had 6000 Spanish mules to carry provisions for his army; he was sole commander of his forces, obtained complete obedience to his orders, and had the immense advantage, as he himself confessed, of being informed by the Spaniards of all the enemy's movements. The French Generals on the other hand, were independent of each other, divided in counsels, wanting everything, informed of nothing, and were never, except by a kind of miracle, united in the pursuit of any common end, or possessed of the materials necessary to the performance of any important operation. Napoleon had recommended them mutually to assist each other, but being unable to foresee the particular cases in which it might be necessary, he had been compelled to confine himself to a general recommendation, and we have already seen how they executed even the most precise orders given with respect to a determined and important object. It was by no means, therefore, impossible for Lord Wellington, by making his preparations in secret, and adroitly veiling his movements, to snatch a period of twenty-five or thirty days in which to undertake and complete a great siege, before the French could arrive to raise it. It was upon this chance that Lord Wellington based his plan of operations for the autumn of 1811, and the winter of 1811-1812.

His troops being at this time somewhat disorganised by their repulse before Badajoz, he resolved to change the object presented to their efforts, and on this account determined to proceed to Ciudad-Rodrigo. He had, moreover, very judiciously observed that Marshal Marmont in ascending from Naval-Moral to Salamanca, to the relief of Ciudad-Rodrigo, would have less chance of obtaining important

reinforcements, than in descending into Estremadura to the relief of Badajoz, for in the last case he would be always sure of finding there Marshal Soult, who had at his command a much larger force than Marshal Bessières in Castille, and who had the greatest possible personal interest in the defence of Badajoz. It was much wiser, therefore, for Lord Wellington to attempt the capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo than of Badajoz, except for the fact that he possessed on this side no park of siege artillery, and no place in which it could be securely stored; whilst for the attack of Badajoz he possessed two vast magazines, the first at Abrantès, whither an immense matériel had been transported by the English fleet, and the second at Elvas, between which and Abrantès there was a good road, and where all the matériel necessary to the prosecution of a great siege could be safely stored.

Nevertheless, refusing to be discouraged by this difficulty, Lord Wellington had a park of heavy siege artillery secretly transported to the neighbourhood of Ciudad-Rodrigo, sending it piece by piece, and then concealing it in various villages. He brought, moreover, all his divisions successively into upper Beira, save that of General Hill, which remained in observation on the Guadiana, and encamped his troops behind the Agueda, leaving to the partisan Don Julian the care of reducing Ciudad-Rodrigo to a state of want by incessant incursions across the surrounding country.

Towards the end of August and the commencement of September, Marshal Marmont, better informed this time than our generals ordinarily were respecting the enemy's movements, received information of the change of position of the English army, and received from General Reynaud, the governor of Ciudad-Rodrigo, a report that this fortress was reduced to the last extremities, that the garrison, already placed on half rations, had only sufficient animal food to last to the 15th of September, and only sufficient bread to last to the 25th, and that at that period it would be compelled to surrender After receiving such information as this there was no time to lose. Marshal Marmont concerted with General Dorsenne, who had replaced the Duke of Istria, who had been recalled to Paris, and it was arranged that the latter should prepare a large convoy of provisions in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, and proceed thither with a portion of his troops, and that Marshal Marmont should quit the banks of the Tagus, repass the Guadarrama by the Col de Bàvas or Péralès, and descend upon Salamanca, for the purpose of concurring in revictualling Ciudad-Rodrigo, at any hazard.

These arrangements, perfectly understood on each side, were exactly carried out. Marshal Marmont concentrated

his divisions, and carried them successively across the Guadarrama He would have been glad to have marched the whole six towards Ciudad-Rodrigo, by which means he would have had at his command more than 30,000 men, his corps having rallied a portion of its sick and wounded. But to have enabled him to have done this it would have been necessary that Joseph should have sent him a division of the army of the centre, to have enabled him to guard the position of the army of Portugal between the Tieta and the Tagus, and to have done this would have been most distasteful to Joseph, and would have exposed his capital on the side of Guadalaxara or La Mancha. Not being able, therefore, to obtain this assistance from Joseph, Marshal Marmont was compelled to leave one whole division on the Tagus for the protection of his bridges and his depôts, and he selected for this purpose the division which he had placed on the Truxillo road, as a corps of observation in the direction of Estremadura. With the five others he passed the Guadarrama, and at the commencement of September arrived in the neighbourhood of Salamanca with 26,000 troops. In the meantime General Dorsenne had proceeded to Astorga with 15,000 excellent soldiers, comprising the young guard and one of the divisions of reserve which had recently entered the Peninsula. The cavalry, especially, was superb. He met on his march an almost equal number of Gallician insurgents commanded by the Spanish general Abadia, and having driven them before him as far as Villa-Franca, turned to the left towards Zamora and Salamanca.

On the 20th of September the two armies of the north and of Portugal united. They were both in a very effective state, thoroughly refreshed, provided with all necessary matériel, and at least six thousand excellent cavalry, and numbered altogether over forty thousand men. The English, usually so well informed, had not expected so prompt and extensive a combination of the French troops; and although their army was almost as numerous as ours, it was consumed with disease, by no means prepared for a battle, dispersed in cantonments so distant from each other that whilst Crawfurd's light division was in advance of the Agueda occupied in the blockade of Ciudad-Rodrigo, the main body of the army was far on the other side of this river. The effective English troops of Lord Wellington's army were, moreover, only twenty-five thousand, the remainder consisting of Portuguese.

The French Generals, if they would have taken any pains to inform themselves of these facts, might have taken advantage of them to strike a decisive blow at the English General,

which his good fortune as much as his skill had enabled him hitherto to avoid. But whether informed of these facts,or not, they should have considered that they might at any moment meet with the English army, either concentrated or dispersed, and should have been prepared in the one case to engage it, and in the other to destroy it.

It was, consequently, their duty to march as though they were constantly exposed to the necessity of fighting a battle. But they did nothing of the sort, and even neglected to arrange respecting engaging the enemy if circumstances should render it necessary or advantageous to do so. It was in fact, only arranged that General Dorsenne, taking a direction to the right towards Ciudad-Rodrigo, should introduce the convoy of provisions, and that Marshal Marmont, advancing with his cavalry by the left should execute a vigorous reconnaissance around Fuente Guinaldo and Espeja. As the infantry of the army of Portugal had not yet arrived General Dorsenne lent to Marshal Marmont the division Thiébault, to employ it as he might find occasion. The march was commenced, therefore, before all the army was assembled and in a fit state to receive the enemy should it appear. It was very improbable, indeed, that the English would be disposed to engage, for their position in front of the Agueda was not at this moment a favourable one; but whatever their position it was unwise to approach them without being prepared to take advantage of favourable opportunities, or to guard against mischance.

Our troops marched upon Ciudad-Rodrigo in this species of disorder, and on the 23rd of September had the satisfaction of succeeding in introducing without striking a blow an immense convoy of provisions. This end having been obtained the two French Generals had doubtless performed the chief object of their march, but they were anxious to obtain information respecting the English army, and Marshal Marmont advancing to the left resolved to execute the projected reconnaissance. Pushing forward with his cavalry, which were still commanded by the brave Montbrun, he perceived Crawfurd's light division divided into two brigades, situated at some distance from each other, and in such a state that a strong advanced guard might have destroyed them in succession. Moreover, Lord Wellington, whose army was much scattered, wanted one of its divisions, and did not hold one of those positions on which alone he chose to engage our troops, might have probably been vanquished, and his whole force destroyed, if he had advanced to the succour of Crawfurd's brigades.

Cavalry being, unfortunately, the only disposable force,

that alone could be advanced. General Montbrun threw himself upon the English infantry with his accustomed vigour, scattered them, although they occupied a very favourable position, and took four pieces of cannon, but could not keep them, for he was compelled to give way when the enemy's infantry having rallied returned to the charge. Marshal Marmont, who was present at this engagement, called loudly for the division Thiébault, but General Dorsenne, who was a man of perverse and selfish character, although a brave officer, either out of ill will or want of time, failed to bring up his division until it could be no longer of any use; the two English brigades having rallied and united, and being already safe from our attack.

On the following day the whole infantry of the army was in line, but the English were in full retreat, and at too great a distance to enable us to come up with them, at least in a single march. It was evident that if we had attacked them on the previous day in suitable order, there would have been a good chance of crushing them; and even now it would still have been practicable to do this had the soldiers had upon their backs three or four days' provisions; but they had not, and they were compelled to retrace their steps, with the single satisfaction of having revictualled Ciudad-Rodrigo, and the bitter regret of having permitted the escape of the English army at the moment when it might have been overwhelmed.

Napoleon persisting, as we have seen, in considering that the reserve recently prepared would be sufficient for the supply of the necessities of the Spanish war, provided good use were made of the autumn and winter, and desiring to withdraw in the spring the imperial guard, wished that the important operations should be commenced in September. The first of these was, in his estimation, the occupation of Valencia, and it was because the capture of Tarragone conduced considerably to the occupation of Valencia, that he heard of with so much pleasure, and rewarded so munificently this last exploit of General Suchet. He ordered this Marshal, therefore, to be in the field at latest by the 15th of September, promising that a strong force should march in support of him in his rear, either under the command of General Decaen, who had replaced Marshal Macdonald in Catalonia, or under that of General Reille, commanding in Navarre, who was to receive two of the divisions of the reserve. When Valencia had been taken Napoleon flattered himself that Marshal Suchet would extend his action as far as Grenada, that the army of Andalusia would then advance almost wholly towards Estremadura, the moiety at least of this army would join that of

Portugal, increased to a force of fifty thousand men by the return to its ranks of the wounded and sick, and its detachments, and that thus seventy thousand men could enter Alentejo, whilst the army of the north, reinforced by two divisions of the reserve would descend upon the Tagus by the route followed by Masséna, and would form a junction with these seventy thousand men. By these means Napoleon hoped to be able to drive the English to the precipice which lay behind them, whilst they obstinately remained at Lisbon. But whilst he looked forward to such vast results he still entertained the idea of withdrawing his young guard, proposing, however, to replace it by Drouet's fourth battalion, marched back to Bayonne, and there filled with the conscripts of 1811 and 1812, which would compensate as far as regarded numbers, for the withdrawal of the guard.

Marshal Suchet was no less desirous to compass the conquest of Valencia than Napoleon himself. But of the forty thousand effective men whom alone he possessed of his sixty thousand nominally effective, he had lost four or five thousand in the siege of Tarragone and subsequent operations, and of the thirty-five thousand remaining he had to detach at least twelve or thirteen thousand to guard Aragon and lower Catalonia. He could only march, therefore, with twenty-two or twenty-three thousand men, and this was a very small number with which to attempt the conquest of Valencia. He had already advanced once to the very gates of this great city and had been able to judge of the difficulties of the undertaking; and Valencia was now defended by the whole of the Valencian army, by that of the insurgents of Murcia, and even by Blake's army, which, consisting of the two divisions Zayas and Lardizabal, had arrived from the banks of the Albuera in the previous month. But whatever were the difficulties in his way Marshal Suchet decided upon his course of action, left a division between Lerida, Tarragone, and Tortosa, under the orders of General Frère, for the protection of lower Catalonia, another on the Ebro, under General Musnier, to guard Aragon, and then marched with twenty-two thousand men upon Valencia. According to his custom, he had bestowed the greatest attention upon the organization of his commissariat and artillery services. Tortosa, at the mouths of the Ebro, was still his great depôt, containing the siege train, now repaired, which he had used in the capture of Tarragone, and vast magazines of the excellent grain of Aragon; and it was from thence that, following the route which runs along the coast from Tortosa to Valencia, he would obtain the necessary provisions and war matériel. For the supply of meat, however, it was arranged that each regiment should carry with it a flock of sheep.

These preparations having been made Marshal Soult departed on the 15th of September for Valencia; his troops marching in three columns. With the principal of these he followed the high road from Tortosa to Valencia, whilst the Italian division Palombini proceeded to the right by the mountains of Morella a san Mateo, and Harispe's French division crossed still more to the right the mountains of Teruel. It was arranged that the three columns should unite in front of Murviedro, at the entrance of the plain named Huerta de Valence.

The army met with no serious obstacle in any direction, and drove before it all the roving bands which infested the country. On the 20th of September the three columns united in the environs of Castellon de la plana. On the 21st they met with some hundreds of Spaniards at the passage of the Minjarès, a torrent which descends from the mountains to the sea, whom the dragoons speedily dispersed, and on the 22nd they arrived on the borders of the magnificent semi-circular plain of Valencia, which is girdled by a chain of fine mountains, covered with palm, orange and olive trees, and bounded by a glittering ocean on whose brink arises Valencia with its numerous towers. On entering by the north, (the army descended from the north, southwards) the first obstacle which presented itself was the city of Murviedro, an open town, but built at the foot of the rock on which formerly stood the ancient Saguntum, and on which there remained a fortress, of a structure partly Roman, partly Arabesque, and partly Spanish. This fortress was garrisoned with three thousand men, well furnished with all kinds of stores, and our army could scarcely leave them in it rear whilst proceeding to attack Valencia, defended by a whole army.

On the 23rd Marshal Suchet took Murviedro with the division Habert, and the operation was not a very difficult one, although the garrison of Saguntum descended from its stronghold to endeavour to save the town at its foot. Having thus become masters of Murviedro, our troops, in spite of a vigorous fire from the fortress, established themselves in the houses which faced it, and barricaded them, and from these forced the garrison to remain shut up in their fortress. After a careful examination of this fortress, it was found to be inaccessible on all sides, except on the west, on which side it joined the mountains which form the enceinte of the plain of Valencia. On this side a gentle slope led to the first works, which consisted of a high and solid tower, which barred the rock on which the fortress was built, and which was connected by strong walls with other towers forming the

enceinte. As the formation of the ground presented almost insurmountable obstacles to the formation of regular approaches, and as the utmost confidence could be reposed in the troops which had carried out successfully such extraordinary assaults, it was resolved to attempt to carry the place by escalade. On the 28th of September, therefore, at midnight, two columns of three hundred chosen men, provided with scaling ladders, and supported by reserves, approached the fortress on the side which appeared most easy to escalade. By a singular chance the garrison had selected this same night for the execution of a sortie. The sortie was vigorously repulsed, but the incident served as a warning to the garrison, and there was no longer any use in attempting a surprise. Unfortunately, however, the columns selected for the assault, being filled with unrestrainable ardour, could not, in the midst of the confusion attendant on the repulse of the sortie, be withheld; and the first column planted its ladders and boldly attempted to reach the summit of its walls. But the ladders were not of the necessary length, nor sufficiently numerous, and the enemy was aware of the attempt; at every point, therefore, at which a ladder was planted, a crowd of furious men struck down with musketry, pikes, and hatchets, the bold assailants who attempted to scale their walls. The second column attempting to renew the attack was repulsed in the same way; and this hardy attempt, which had been planned as a means of economising time and bloodshed, cost us about three hundred men in killed and wounded, without any useful result.

Much distressed at this check, Marshal Suchet now perceived that he must proceed by the ordinary methods. A regular siege appeared indispensable for the capture of the rock of Saguntum, and it was asked whether it might not be better to mask this obstacle by a simple detachment, and to march forthwith upon Valencia. But the Marshal having already left in his rear two of the enemy's fortresses named Peniscola and Oropesa, did not dare to neglect a third fortress, containing a garrison of three thousand men, and was anxious to capture it before carrying his operations any further.

It was now necessary to bring the heavy siege artillery from Tortosa, and on this account to capture the fortress Oropesa, which completely intercepted the route. General Compère, therefore, was ordered to proceed with the Neapolitans, numbering fifteen hundred men, to Oropesa, and with the first pieces of heavy artillery which should arrive from Tortosa to overthrow its walls and open the route. The Neapolitans, accordingly, under the direction of French en-

gineers, opened the approaches, and carried them forward with much ardour and intrepidity. On the 9th of October the breaching battery was placed in position, armed with some heavy pieces of artillery, and an opening made in the principal tower. The little garrison which defended it was unwilling to await the chances of an assault, and surrendered on the 10th of October. The park of heavy artillery could now be brought, therefore, without interruption to the camp under Murviedro.

The Generals Valée and Rogniat, having returned to the army from which they had been absent for a time by permission, arranged the plan for the attack of the fortress of Saguntum, and decided that it should be conducted on the west, that is to say, by the slopes which join the rock of Saguntum to the mountains. The trenches had to be dug in a very hard soil, which was often a bare rock, and in a situation exposed to walls and elevated towers, from which the enemy could place hors de combat forty or fifty of our men a day; and whilst our troops were employed in the difficult works of the approaches, the chiefs of the bands which infested the mountains of Teruel, Calatayud, and Cuenca, situated between the provinces of Aragon and Valencia, were more active than ever, attacking our posts, and carrying off our cattle.

Impatient to triumph over this terrible obstacle which prevented its advance, the army was anxious to be permitted to attempt an assault as soon as possible. But the establishment of batteries under a continual fire from the enemy had caused infinite trouble and serious losses, and a breach could not be effected until the 17th of October. Our artillery, skilfully directed, destroyed the first bastions; but there was ancient masonry in the walls which was as hard as a rock, and above them the Spaniards, animated with the utmost energy, careless of the fire of our battery, took aim at our artillerymen, and destroyed them man by man, and thus frustrated our efforts.

At length, on the afternoon of the 18th although still presenting an escarpment sufficiently difficult to surmount, the breach was declared practicable, and the assault was ordered. The Spaniards standing in the breach and on the summit of the tower in which it was made, were armed with muskets and hatchets, and shouted the most furious cries. Colonel Matis with 400 select men of the 5th leger, and the 11th and 117th of the line, and the Italian division, advanced boldly under the most tremendous fire. But in spite of the courage of the assailants the breach was so steep, and the enemy's fire so vigorous, that the soldiers who attempted to climb over the

ruins were beaten down and they were forced to renounce the attempt after a fresh loss of two hundred men in killed or wounded. Thus this fatal citadel of Saguntum, taking into account the loss consequent on the first escalade and the losses during the progress of the works, had already cost us seven or eight hundred men, without any result. In the meantime the Valencian army, perceiving from the midst of the plain what was taking place at Saguntum, felt increased confidence in its walls, and having seen the unavailing attempts against Valencia of Marshal Moncey in 1808, and of General Suchet in 1810, flattered themselves that this new attempt would have a similar result.

It was upon this army, so full of self-complacency, that General Suchet determined to wreak his vengeance, and by its utter defeat expiate the check inflicted on him by the determined garrison of Saguntum. He considered, moreover, that the defeat of this army in the open field would be a source of so much discouragement to the enemy, that it might lead by its simple moral effect, to the simultaneous capture of both Saguntum and Valencia. But he was unwilling for the purpose of meeting the enemy's army, to withdraw too far from Saguntum or to approach Valencia too closely, and he was seeking for a suitable position on which to meet it, when General Blake himself offered him the opportunity he desired.

The garrison of Saguntum, whilst causing us serious losses, had also suffered them; its energetic spirit began to fail, it anxiously awaited relief, and demanded it by signals with the vessels which passed along the coast. General Blake had not less than thirty thousand men, amongst which were the divisions Zayas and Lardizabal, the best troops in Spain; and had been joined, moreover, by the Murcians under General Mahy, and the brave partisan Villa-Campa.

He now advanced, therefore, into the midst of the plain, withdrawing from Valencia and approaching Saguntum as though he were about to meet the enemy in battle. Marshal Suchet was much rejoiced when he perceived these dispositions and made preparations for an engagement. On the morning of the 25th of October the two armies were face to face.

General Blake placed on his right, beyond a ravine named Picador, and along the shore, the division Zayas, which the Spanish flotilla was to support by its fire; in the centre, the division Lardizabal, supported by the whole of the Spanish cavalry, under General Caro; and on his left, the Valencian division Mirinda, that of the partisan Villa-Campa; and finally, even beyond his left, with the intention of turning us

by the mountains, the troops of Mahy. These troops amounted, as we have said, to thirty thousand men, as good soldiers as Spain could furnish. The remainder of his troops had been left for the protection of Valencia

General Suchet's troops only numbered sixteen or eighteen thousand men, for he had been compelled to leave a certain number before Saguntum; but these sixteen or eighteen thousand amply compensated by their valour for their inferiority in number. On his left, and towards the sea he posted Habert's division, opposite the division Zayas; in the centre he opposed Harispe's division, the Italian division Palombini, the 4th hussars, the 13th cuirassiers, and the 24th dragoons to the division Lardizabal; finally, on his right he placed the brigades Robert and Chlopiski, and the Italian dragoons, to hold in check the troops of Miranda, Villa-Campa, and Mahy, which threatened to cut us off from the Tortosa route, our only line of retreat. Our artillery, and the Neapolitan infantry were to continue the attack on the towers of Saguntum during the battle..

At daybreak, the army of General Blake commenced its movement, and Marshal Suchet crossing at that moment the field of battle with a squadron of the 4th hussars, perceived Lardizabal's Spaniards advancing in the centre with order and precision, upon a mamelon which would serve as a point d'appui to our whole line; and he immediately ordered Harispe's division to proceed thither, and as the Spaniards had the start, threw upon them his squadron of hussars to check their movement. The hussars, however, although they charged with great bravery were repulsed by the Spaniards, who boldly mounted upon the mamelon and established themselves there. General Harispe, who arrived when the mamelon was already taken, marched thither at the head of the 7th of the line, and left in reserve the 116th of the line with the 3rd of the Vistula. The Spaniards received the charge of our troops with a very vigorous fire, and more firmness than usual, but the 7th of the line attacked them at the bayonet's point and overwhelmed them. The whole of Harispe's division then deployed in front of Lardizabal's division, which had paused whilst the two wings of the Spanish army continued to gain ground. Marshal Soult determined immediately to take advantage of this situation to cut off the Spanish army by the centre; and with this purpose sent forward Harispe's division, whilst he kept back on the other hand Habert's division on his left, and the brigades Robert and Chlopiski on his right.

Whilst these orders were in the course of execution, Duchand, commander of the squadron of artillery, having

carried forward with much boldness the artillery of Harispe's division, in order to throw grape upon Lardizabal's infantry, was charged by the whole body of General Caro's cavalry. The hussars who attempted to sustain the charge were driven back, and many of our pieces fell into the power of the Spaniards, who, little accustomed to take prizes, expressed their joy on the occasion with loud shouts. At the same moment all Lardizabal's infantry marched towards us with the greatest confidence. But the 116th advanced to meet General Caro's cavalry, checked them with its weight, and then the brave 13th cuirassiers led by General Boussard, threw themselves on the Spanish infantry and broke and sabred them. From this moment the enemy's centre pierced by our troops was compelled to retreat; and not only did we retake the French guns, but also a portion of the Spanish artillery, and many prisoners, amongst whom was General Caro himself.

The two wings of the army which had at first been withheld were now advanced by Marshal Suchet, who in spite of a wound in the shoulder declined to quit the field of battle, and placed in line with the centre. General Habert, whose troops were opposed to the division Zayas, drove it at the first charge to the village Pouzol, and there having driven it still further to the heights of Puig, carried these heights themselves with the bayonet, whilst Colonel Delort, uniting the left with the centre, charged at the head of the 24th dragoons the remainder of Lardizabal's infantry. On the right Generals Robert and Chlopiski repulsed the troops commanded by Mating, and the Italian dragoons completely routed them by a vigorous charge.

Defeated thus at every point, the Spaniards retreated in disorder, leaving in our hands twelve pieces of cannon, four thousand seven hundred prisoners, a thousand dead, and four flags; whilst on our side we had lost in this struggle, in which the Spaniards fought more desperately than they usually fought in the open field, about seven hundred in killed and wounded. The chief results of the battle were that it destroyed the prestige of the Valencian army, discouraged the garrison of Saguntum, and dissipated the vain glorious confidence felt by the inhabitants of Valencia in their walls.

After he had collected the trophies of his victory, the Marshal summoned the garrison of Saguntum, which the defeat of the Spanish army had deprived of all hope of relief; and it consented to capitulate, surrendering into our hands two thousand five hundred prisoners, the remainder of the three thousand men by whom, at the commencement of the siege, the fortress had been defended. This first result of

the battle of Saguntum was a source of great satisfaction to Marshal Suchet, who now found himself master of the plain of Valencia by reason of the solid point d'appui which he had now acquired there, and who had, moreover, in the town of Murviedro a safe place of protection for his siege train, his sick, and his stores. Possessing, moreover, on the grand Tortosa route fort Oropesa, which alone commanded the road, he was perfectly secure of his line of communication up to the Ebro.

It now became an important object with General Suchet to disengage his rear from the bands which had taken advantage of his advance to assail the entire circle of the frontiers of Aragon. L'Empecinado and Duran, replacing Villa-Campa, had overpowered the garrison of Calatayud; Mina sallying from Navarre, although pursued by several columns of French troops, had seized an entire battalion of Italians; and the Catalans, retaking Mont-Serrat had rendered very difficult the position of Frere's division, which was charged with the duty of keeping watch over Lerida, Tarragone, and Tortosa. The Marshal, therefore, made various necessary movements of troops in his rear; and marched his prisoners under the escort of a strong brigade towards the Pyrenees, whilst he sent couriers after couriers to Paris to make known his situation and his need of prompt aid.

It was now necessary that he should cross the Guadalaviar, a rapid little stream on the bank of which is built Valencia, for the purpose of investing this vast city, which was occupied by a numerous army, and which, independently of its old enceinte was still further protected by an uninterrupted line of earth entrenchments, bristling with artillery, and forming a vast entrenched camp. To these defences were added a multitude of irregular canals, large, deep, and full of running water, which were the riches of Valencia during peace, as they were its defence in war. There were obstacles, therefore, which the seventeen thousand men, who were all that remained with Marshal Suchet after the despatch of a brigade as an escort for the prisoners, were insufficient to overcome.

Whilst awaiting the reinforcements he had solicited and which he hoped to receive from Navarre, the Marshal employed the month of November in blockading Valencia, advancing Habert's division to the left as far as Grao, a port of Valencia, and seizing the faubourg Serranos, in spite of a most vigorous resistance on the part of the Spaniards, who defended it foot by foot. This faubourg was separated from the town itself by the Guadalaviar, and our troops took, by having first entered by sapping and mining, the three great convents that commanded it. Ascending towards the right

along the Guadalaviar, they also seized some villages which were on its left bank, that which we occupied, and fortified themselves there. We had thus created a long line of circumvallation from the sea to beyond Valencia, and to complete the envelopement of this city it only required that our troops should cross the Guadalaviar in front of General Blake, force the canals with which the plain was furrowed, and shut up the army of succour within the walls of the city itself. The Marshal, however, delayed this operation, which would necessarily be followed by the assault of the entrenched camp and the old wall, until the arrival of the reinforcements which had been promised, and which he momentarily expected.

Napoleon, in fact, on receiving news of the battle of Saguntum, believed that the whole fate of the Spanish war was concentrated around Valencia, and that the destinies of the Peninsula depended on the capture of this important place. It is certain, indeed, that the conquest of this city, which for many years had resisted all our attacks, succeeding that of Tarragone, would have produced a great moral effect on the Peninsula, and almost as great as that which would have been caused by the conquest of Cadiz, although far less than that which would have resulted from the occupation of Lisbon, since the capture of this latter city would suppose the defeat of the English. Napoleon desired, therefore, that everything should be subordinate, and almost sacrificed to this important object.

By his dispatch of the 20th of November he ordered General Reille to quit Navarre immediately, however necessary it might be to keep Mina in check, and to enter Aragon with the two divisions of reserve which were under his orders, whilst General Caffarelli replaced him in Navarre; and this latter General was in his turn replaced in Biscay by General Dorsenne. At the same time he ordered Joseph to send forward a division upon Cuenca; Marmont, although so distant from Valencia, to detach under General Montbrun a division of infantry and one of cavalry to join at Cuenca that which should be sent by Joseph; and finally, Marshal Suchet to advance a corps as far as Murcia. He wrote to all, what was indeed true, but with great exaggeration, namely, that the English had a great number of sick, as many as eighteen thousand, he said; that they were on this account incapable of undertaking any movement, and that the Castilles, Estremadura, and Andalusia, could therefore be without danger stripped of their troops; that Valencia was the only important point, and that when it had once been taken a vast number of troops might then be set free to act from east to west with the utmost vigour against the English.

These orders, expressed with great precision and in the most imperious terms, were better executed than usual, and in accordance with the species of fatality attending the Spanish war, this punctual obedience was only obtained on the occasion when it was undesirable, for General Reille would have sufficed to enable General Suchet to perform his task. However this might be, General Reille held in check the guerilla bands, entered it himself with a French division, and marched at the head of these two divisions upon Valencia by the Teruel road. General Caffarelli replaced him in Navarre. In the meantime Joseph, who expected great results from the capture of Valencia, willingly deprived himself of a portion of his army, and directed upon Cuenca the division Darmagnac; whilst Marshal Marmont, who grew weary of his state of inaction on the Tagus, and who would have rejoiced to march himself upon Valencia, not having been authorized to proceed thither in person, despatched General Montbrun with two divisions, one of infantry and one of cavalry. Marshal Soult, however, replied to Napoleon's order that he could not from the bottom of Andalusia aid Marshal Suchet in the kingdom of Valencia; and he was right. He acted accordingly, therefore, and sent nothing.

With much pleasure Marshal Suchet saw arrive successively more reinforcements than he had demanded, and towards the end of December learned that General Reille, an officer who was as intelligent as he was energetic, was approaching from Ségorbe with the Italian division Severoli, and with a French division composed of the best regiments of the old Neapolitan army; a force which amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand men, and was accompanied by forty pieces of cannon. After having himself reviewed these troops at Ségorbe on the 24th of December, he returned to Valencia, and resolved to cross the Guadalaviar immediately for the purpose of completely investing the city, before General Blake could escape from it, or bring up a new division of General Freyre's which was said to be about to appear. He fixed on the 26th of December for the execution of this project, as General Reille would thus be able to occupy the left bank of the river which he was now about to abandon, and even to assist at the conclusion of the operation.

On the 26th of December, whilst a portion of Habert's division masked the faubourg de Serranos, the remainder of this division, advancing to the left, passed the stream towards its mouth, enveloped Valencia on the side of the sea, and took possession of a height called mount Olivete. In the centre and a little above Valencia the Italians of the division

Palombini, rushing through the water up to their middle passed the Guadalaviar at a ford, and, under the most vigorous fire, attacked the village of Mislata which was bravely defended, and protected by a deep canal named Acequia de Favara, the passage of which was of greater difficulty than that of the stream itself. To second this movement and completely envelope Valencia, General Harispe with his division crossed the Guadalaviar above the village Manisses at the point where were situated the prises of water which turned the course of the Guadalaviar into a thousand canals through the plain of Valencia; and Marshal Soult had calculated that General Harispe, avoiding thus the obstacle of the canals, would be able more speedily to turn Valencia, and effect the investment on the south.

The movement of General Harispe was a little delayed by his awaiting the arrival of General Reille, since he was unwilling to leave unsupported the numerous troops which remained on the left of the Guadalaviar. Without this support, indeed, General Blake, who was about to be blockaded on the right bank, would have been able to escape by the left bank by breaking through the feeble detachments there placed. As soon as the approach of the troops of General Reille was observed General Harispe pushed forward, fell on the rear of Mislata, released the Italians who were maintaining a most unequal combat, assisted them in the occupation of the disputed positions, then descended to the south of Valencia, and towards the end of the day completed its investment. During this circular movement around Valencia, General Mahy at the head of the insurgents of Murcia, and the partisan Villa Campa with his division, had withdrawn upon the Xucar and upon Alcira, being unwilling to be shut up in Valencia, and rightly judging that the troops of General Blake would be quite sufficient for its defence, could it be defended, and far too many to have to surrender, should it be forced to capitulate. The General in chief sent the dragoons in pursuit of these retreating troops, but the only end attained was the capture of a few prisoners.

This operation, now successfully executed, cost us about 400 men in killed and wounded, who were for the most part Italians, since the only resolute resistance had been at Mislata. It completed the investment of Valencia, and assured us, should we capture the city, of also capturing General Blake with twenty thousand men. But certainly if the Valencian population, amounting to sixty thousand, supported by twenty thousand regular troops, well provisioned, and defended by numerous and extensive works, were animated still by the sentiments which had inspired it in 1808 and

1809, it would be able to make a long resistance and cause us to pay dearly for its conquest. But the high spirited and sanguinary men who had slaughtered the French in 1808 were now either more peaceably disposed, or dispersed, or terrified.

Three years of civil and foreign war and courses lomtaines, sometimes in Murcia, sometimes in Catalonia, had fatigued this active and patriotic population, and worn out their passions. Valencia was now in the same state as Saragossa and many other parts of Spain. Provided those were disarmed who had adopted a taste for and habit of using arms, and a fondness for pillage, the remainder, suffering from the insupportable tyranny alternately exercised by each party, was ready to submit to a clement conqueror, with a reputation for honour, and bringing to them rather repose than slavery. The remembrance of the massacres committed on the French in 1808, which would have been a motive for resisting to the utmost a pitiless besieger, was on the contrary a reason for surrendering at once to an enemy whose gentleness was known, and who ought not to be forced to a severity contrary to his nature.

These sentiments, influencing the army of General Blake, prevented the adoption on any side of the resolution to destroy Valencia, as Saragossa had been destroyed, rather than surrender it to the enemy. Marshal Suchet had received information of this disposition, and desired to carry forward the approaches as rapidly as possible, in order to preserve the immediate submission of the city, for he was far from secure of retaining for any considerable time the concentration of force which was under his command. He resolved, therefore, to carry forward works against two points of the defence which offered circumstances favourable to an attack. At the commencement of January 1812, Henri the Colonel of Engineers, who had signalized himself in all the memorable sieges of Aragon and Catalonia, opened the trenches towards the south of the town, in front of an angle formed by a line of outer works, and to the south west in front of the faubourg Saint-Vincent. Within a few days the works had been pushed as far as the foot of the entrenchment, but with the loss of Colonel Henri, who was justly regretted by the whole army, on account of his courage and talents; and General Blake seeing no means for maintaining a desperate defence abandoned the outer line of defences and retired within the enceinte itself.

Marshal Suchet discerning very clearly the true state of affairs, immediately advanced under the walls, and placed in position a battery of mortars to overpower at once a

resistance which was already dying out. But if he were anxious to terrify the population it was far from his intention to destroy a city in whose wealth he hoped to find the chief resource of his army, and after having thrown into it some bombs which caused more consternation than harm, he summoned General Blake to surrender, and received from the latter an equivocal refusal. The bombardment continued simultaneously with the parlying, and on the 9th of January, 1812, the army of General Blake surrendered itself as prisoners of war to the number of eight thousand men. Marshal Soult entered Valencia in triumph, the just reward of wisely conceived combinations bravely executed, and fortunately aided by circumstances. The population received calmly, and almost with satisfaction, a chief of whose good government Aragon boasted, and was not sorry to have reached the conclusion of a war which at that time appeared to be solely advantageous to the English, who were as odious to the Spaniards as the French themselves.

Marshal Suchet hastened to introduce into the administration of the kingdom of Valencia the same order he had carried into that of the kingdom of Aragon. The populations both of Valencia and the neighbouring towns were disposed to submit to his authority, and he was able to calculate on a submission as complete as that he had obtained in Aragon. It was necessary, nevertheless, that he should retain sufficient troops to hold in check the turbulent portion of the populations, which had already thrown itself into the mountains, and prepared to take advantage of the dispersion of our forces, which was the necessary result of the extension of our occupation, to disturb Murcia, Cuenca, Aragon, and lower Catalonia.

The capture of Valencia succeeding that of Tarragone, was indisputably both fortunate and brilliant, and capable of exercising throughout the Peninsula, a considerable moral influence, but, on condition that our forces, so far from being diminished should be increased in proportion to the extended country they had to occupy; that the precipitate withdrawal of the large force which had been carried eastward, and which left the English at liberty in the west, should be promptly retrieved; and that the enemy should not be allowed time to take advantage of this, but should on the other hand be attacked at that very moment with the greatest possible energy. If, in fact, the army of the north had been sufficiently reinforced so as to be able not only to keep in check the guerilla bands but to cover Ciudad-Rodrigo; if the army of Portugal had been augmented sufficiently to invade either Beira or Alentejo, or, at least, to check Lord Wellington; if,

finally, the army of Andalusia had received sufficient reinforcements to enable it to take Cadiz, and to add the éclat of this conquest to that of the capture of Valencia; then a moiety of the army of Andalusia added to the whole army of Portugal, and a detachment of the army of the north, would have been able to drive the English upon Lisbon, and to blockade them in their lines until the proper moment should have arrived for a great effort to take them. Unfortunately these conditions could not be fulfilled but with extreme difficulty at the present moment, when every care had a direction towards the Vistula instead of towards the Tagus; and Napoleon was, moreover, about to order that as soon as Valencia should have been taken, General Reille was to enter Aragon with his two divisions, to leave General Caffarelli at liberty to re-enter Castille, and the imperial guard at liberty to re-enter France.

Thus Valencia had scarcely been taken when General Reille retraced his steps, and Marshal Suchet found himself reduced to his own forces, which were sufficient, indeed, for the government of Valencia, but quite insufficient to undertake any distant expedition, or to act as far as Murcia and Grenada. He took advantage, however, of this withdrawal of troops to get rid of his prisoners, and sent them to France.

Napoleon who had at first desired, after the capture of Valencia, to direct against the English an overwhelming force, and with this purpose to leave his guard in Castille during the whole of the winter at least, had now resigned that idea, pressed as he was by certain circumstances, which we shall presently have to narrate, to march his armies on the Vistula, and he resolved to recall immediately his guard, the Poles, the cadres of a certain number of fourth battalions, and a portion of his dragoons. Towards the close of December, therefore, he demanded his young guard of General Dorsenne, which caused a diminution of at least twelve thousand men; and demanded of Marshals Suchet and Soult the regiments of the Vistula, which caused a fresh withdrawal of seven or eight thousand Polish troops, excellent soldiers; and this diminution of force was especially damaging to Marshal Suchet, who remained with fifteen thousand men in the kingdom of Valencia. He recalled, also, the fourth battalions which had composed the 9th corps, and which belonged almost entirely to the regiments of the army of Andalusia, and this was a fresh withdrawal of two or three thousand men who were much to be regretted for their distinguished qualities as soldiers. Finally, Napoleon recalled twelve regiments of dragoons of the twenty-four employed in Spain.

The result of these measures was the withdrawal from Spain of twenty-five thousand of the best troops. And this was not all; for Napoleon, no longer designing the march of two combined armies upon Lisbon, advancing one by the Beira, the other by the Alentejo, but being especially anxious to guard against an offensive movement of the English in Castille, which might have imperilled our line of communication, changed, at the very moment of the capture of Valencia, the destination of Marshal Marmont, and drew him from the banks of the Tagus to the banks of the Douro, causing him to repass the Guadarrama. He had ordered him to quit Almaraz, and to establish himself at Salamanca with the six divisions of the army of Portugal, to which he had added a seventh, that of General Souham, which was one of the four of reserve. The division Bonnet was to form the eighth. General Caffarelli, now returned from Navarre, which he had occupied for a moment during the movement of General Reille upon Valencia, had succeeded General Dorsenne in the command of the army of the north; and was to receive, as compensation for the withdrawal of the guard, one of the four divisions of the reserve, and at the same time to cover Madrid if the enemy should attempt to proceed thither, as they had done at the time of the battle of Talavera. Finally, as it was the departure of the guard which determined the new position assigned to the army of Portugal, Marshal Marmont was ordered to conform immediately to the instructions which he had received.

At the moment when these orders reached him, however, Marshal Marmont was in a state of embarrassment which prevented him from obeying them, for, in accordance with the extreme precipitancy with which the concentration of the forces towards Valencia had been conducted, he had been ordered to dispatch General Montbrun with two divisions, one of infantry and the other of cavalry; and General Montbrun, instead of stopping at Cuenca, as the division Darmagnac sent by Joseph, and waiting until it was necessary that he should go further, had acted quite otherwise. Taking advantage of his liberty and the season which was favorable to the performance of marches, he advanced as far as the very gates of Alicante, which, although ready to open to Marshal Suchet, were not so to him.

General Montbrun might have committed a fault, very excusable in the case of such a character as his, but whether wrong or not, less than eighty or a hundred leagues from Almaraz, and whilst he was so far removed with a third of the army of Portugal, it was a difficult thing for Marshal Marmont to quit the Tagus with the two other thirds, and

thus to place additional distance between himself and his principal lieutenant. However, Marshal Marmont, although capable of judging of the merit of the orders he received, executed them because he was obedient, and less animated with personal passions than most of his comrades. Moreover, he had received information that the English, repulsed before Ciudad-Rodrigo at the end of the preceding September, were preparing a new attempt against this place, and he commenced to march his troops from the banks of the Tagus to the banks of the Douro, and to remove his head quarters from Naval-Moral to Salamanca. In order to guard against the inconveniences of this strange situation he removed at first only his hospitals, matériel, and two divisions, and left two divisions on the Tagus to assist General Montbrun; and with more than usual forethought prepared at Salámanca a second store of artillery for the troops whom he left on the Tagus, that they might, in case of urgent need, rejoin him by routes which were very short but impracticable for artillery.

We now see how singular and perilous was the situation created by the precipitate determination first to carry all the troops towards Valencia, and then to draw them back towards Castille in order to prepare for the departure of the troops destined for Russia; and the English must have been very indolent or very ill informed had they neglected such advantageous opportunities. Lord Wellington, although by no means fertile in ingenious and bold combinations, was, nevertheless, careful to seize favorable occasions. He never created them, but he seized them, and this is in general sufficient, for those which fortune offers are generally the safest, whilst we can only create them for ourselves at the risk of much hazard and peril.

We have already explained how, being compelled to do something, and having no better enterprise open to him than the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo, or Badajoz, Lord Wellington was lying in wait on a well opened route, ready to throw himself on one of these two fortresses as soon as he could believe that he had before him twenty or five and twenty days in which to conduct a siege; and this space of twenty-five days was secured to him by the concentration of all the French forces upon Valencia, which he knew to have become the sole source of care to the court of Madrid. Before Marshal Marmont could be informed, before he could recall General Montbrun, and set his whole army in motion, before General Caffarelli could return from Navarre to reinforce the army of Portugal; before, in fact, forty thousand men could be led under the walls of Ciudad-Rodrigo, Lord Wel-

lington would certainly have time to attack and take this fortress. He had, moreover, already transported thither the necessary siege materials, had not quitted the environs since the revictualling accomplished by Marshal Marmont and General Dorsenne, had employed his time in the care of his sick, and had quietly collected a great park of heavy artillery. In fact, no preliminary operation had been left unprepared, and he would be able on the day succeeding his first march to commence the siege, the accomplishment of which was the object of his ambition, and he determined to undertake it without loss of time.

Before the cruel surprise which was preparing for us as a punishment for our faults, there had already arisen a most bitter disagreement on account of the expedition attempted by the division Girard to Arroyo del Molinos. We have seen that Marshal Soult had left General Drouet at Merida to watch Estremadura. General Drouet no longer commanded the 9th corps which had been distributed amongst the divisions of the army of Andalusia, but the 5th, the command of which had become vacant by the return to France of Marshal Mortier. Marshal Soult had authorized him to extend as far as the environs of Caceres the levy of the contributions, and General Girard, placed at the head of one of the divisions of the corps, a very energetic but rather careless officer, had advanced as far as the city of Caceres itself, in the basin of the Tagus, whilst the corps to which it belonged was at Merida upon the Guadiana. It was very imprudent to send him so far and as imprudent on his part not to have been more careful in so hazardous a position. The English General, Hill, was at no great distance, in the direction of port Alègre, and being urged by Lord Wellington not to remain inactive, seized with empressement the occasion which offered itself, and which was a most favourable one, for he had but to quietly ascend the basin of the Tagus to be able to cut off the too confident General from his line of communication with the Guadiana; and he performed this operation, arriving on the 27th of October close to General Girard's rear. The latter had been warned of the danger which he incurred, but with the rashness of his improvident courage had replied to General Briche who gave the warning; "you seem to see the English everywhere;" a most offensive remark and very little deserved by the brave General to whom it was addressed. General Girard, however, perceiving the necessity of retracing his steps, had already sent forward one of his two brigades, and with the second waited on the morning of the 28th near Arroyo del Molinos the arrival of the Alcade of Caceres who had promised to bring the

thousand ounces which had been levied on the city, when he was convinced too late of his injustice towards General Briche.

Surrounded by more than 10,000 men, of whom 10,000 were English and 4000 were Portuguese, he endeavoured to compensate for his imprudence by his valour, and contrived to extricate himself by the sacrifice of a battalion of the rear guard composed of select companies, having an officer at its head named Voirol, who had distinguished himself at Albuera. This battalion, surrounded on all sides, defended itself with heroic courage, but was overwhelmed and compelled to surrender; and this cruelly rash enterprise thus cost us nearly two thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and was a real subject for congratulation with the English, since it furnished them with a remarkable fact to compensate for the inaction of the summer, and to employ the public mind in England, which had hitherto brooded on the repulses before Badajoz and the last revictualling of Ciudad-Rodrigo by the French. General Girard was sent by General Drouet to Marshal Soult, and by Marshal Soult to the Emperor, to render an account of his conduct; and his superiors, had they been just, when they accused him of imprudence should have accused themselves of imprudence which was at least as great as his.

We were unfortunately to suffer still greater mischances, and all by reason of the same want of vigilance which had been so fatal during the last war, and Ciudad-Rodrigo, of which, as we have said, Lord Wellington designed the siege during the concentration of our forces in the direction of Valencia, was to furnish us with another instance of its effects. This fortress, situated between the army of the north and the army of Portugal, was confided to the care of two officers, Marshal Marmont and General Dorsenne; of whom the latter, however, to whom had been entrusted the duty of supplying the garrison with provisions, was more particularly responsible. But although very capable of commanding a division in the open field General Dorsenne knew nothing respecting the defence of a fortress, and had entrusted to General Barrié, who knew even less, the defence of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and gave him eighteen hundred men to defend a place of which the defence required at least five thousand. The French had employed twenty-four days in the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo when defended by six thousand Spaniards, well provided with all kinds of stores and as brave as fanatics. But how long would eighteen hundred French troops be able to defend it, when destitute of stores and regarding themselves as sacrificed by the negligence of their chiefs? General Dor-

senne failed to ask himself this question, and being aware that he had some months before, in company with Marshal Marmont, carried provisions to Ciudad-Rodrigo, scarcely thought any more respecting the matter.

General Barrié, however, having learned the true state of affairs, had not failed, at the close of December, to inform the commander of the army of the north of the enemy's movements, which, although very carefully concealed, were nevertheless very apparent, to announce that the provisions of the place would be exhausted in February, that the garrison was very insufficient for its defence, and that it must speedily fall before any serious attack. These messages were received as General Briche's advice had been received by General Girard, as the importunity of an officer who was always complaining, demanding more than he needed, and more than could be granted him. The conduct of a superior is always imitated, and Napoleon having treated his Generals in this manner, there was now scarcely an officer who did not behave towards his inferiors in the same way.

The fortress was, therefore, left to itself with a garrison of 1,800 men, now reduced to 1,500 by sickness, desertion, and daily skirmishes against the Spanish scouts in the neighbouring country. The breach by which the French had entered had been repaired, but with dry stone, in default of other materials. On the mamelon called le grand Teso, had been constructed a redoubt of little strength, and the exterior convents of Saint Francis and Saint Cruz had been occupied by two hundred men, which reduced by that number the garrison left to guard the walls.

Lord Wellington, after he had secretly conveyed his siege train near the frontier, crossed it on the 8th of January, 1812, hoping that before the return of the troops sent to Valencia, by the army of Portugal, and to Navarre by the army of the north, he should have carried a place wanting in all means of defence, as Ciudad-Rodrigo appeared to be at that moment.

Having crossed the Agueda on the 8th and invested the fortress, he determined to carry the lunette on le grand Teso in the evening. Armed with three cannon, and guarded by five hundred men, it was incapable of offering any very great resistance, and the troops of the unfortunate detachment which defended it were either taken or slain. Immediately afterwards Lord Wellington, who had not less than forty thousand troops under his command, commenced the siege works, and enveloped the place in trenches from the convent of Santa Cruz to that of Saint François. To attack that portion of the walls which had been breached by the French

was a mere matter of course, and the approaches were conducted towards that point; and as the convents of Saint Cruz and Saint François took the English trenches in flank, it was resolved to carry them by assault; by no means a difficult undertaking, as there were less than fifty soldiers in the one, and one hundred and fifty in the other. The former was attacked on the night of the 13th, and the fifty men who occupied it being insufficient for its defence, retired, after having done their best. General Barrié made a sortie to retake this post and succeeded in his attempt, but was compelled to evacuate it again before the attack of a multitude of assailants. The convent of Saint François was of more importance to the enemy, for it commanded the left of the English trenches, by which Lord Wellington designed to undertake a second attack. The hundred and fifty men who guarded this convent, assailed by an overwhelming force, and threatened with being isolated from the city, retired after having spiked their cannon. A more extensive experience in the defence of fortresses would have taught General Barrié that to attempt to defend detached posts with so few men, was to sacrifice troops uselessly. At the same time it must be added that had he even confined his efforts to the defence of the fortress itself, he could not very considerably have prolonged its defence with the force at his disposal.

All the outer works having been taken, Lord Wellington directed twenty-six cannon against the old breach, and in a few hours the uncemented stones began to fall away with frightful celerity, and the breach speedily became practicable. The besieged here, as at Badajoz, taking advantage of the habit of the English to open a breach before having destroyed the counterscarp, bravely attempted to clear the foot of the walls. But being very weak in numbers, and ill covered by the counterscarp and the glacis, they were speedily driven away by the enemy's fire, and the English artillery was able by accumulating ruins at the foot of the breach again to create the slope. Lord Wellington had learned at Badajoz what it was to attempt the assault of places defended by French troops, and perceived that to render an assault successful it would be necessary to divide the attention of the besieged by simultaneous attacks. He established, therefore, a new breaching battery, on the left of his trenches towards the convent of Saint François, and the artillery of the fortress, although it caused much damage to the new works, being incapable of resisting the overwhelming fire directed against it, a second breach was speedily effected at this point, and although not extensive was deemed practicable.

General Barrié, who had decided to perish sword in hand,

took the ordinary measures to resist the assault. He had a double entrenchment raised behind the breaches, flanked them with cannon loaded with grape, placed on their summits bomb shells which were to be rolled down upon the enemy by hand, and posted chosen troops behind them. Having only a thousand men available for the defence, and there being two breaches to defend and the whole circuit of the fortress to guard, the only reserve he had against a column which might have forced the wall consisted of a hundred men. Nevertheless, when summoned to surrender by the English General, he replied that he would die upon the ramparts, and would never capitulate; and this determination is worthy of all honour, for in the state to which the fortress was now reduced he might have capitulated in full accordance with the most honourable rules regulating the defence of fortresses.

On the night of the 18th of January Lord Wellington threw two columns upon the two breaches, and placed reserves in proper positions to support them. The column directed against the great breach on the right, after having run completely exposed to the brink of the fosse and dashed into it, attempted to climb up the ruins of the fallen wall, and were many times driven back by the grape shot, grenades, and musketry directed against them from the fortress; and General Barrié, who was at this spot because it was the one most seriously threatened, could flatter himself for a moment that the defence had been successful. At this moment, summoned by a great clamour to the little breach, and supposing that it had been carried, he ran thither with his reserve, and finding that it was a false alarm, returned to the great breach. But the second English column after having been repulsed from the little breach returned in force, overpowered the voltigeurs who defended it, and penetrated into the tower. On this occasion General Barrié, supposing it to be another false alarm, failed to advance with sufficient speed, and his column which defended the great breach being taken à revers, was compelled to lay down its arms. The garrison and its commander had protracted their resistance to the utmost, and they can only be reproached with a few errors, the avoidance of which could not have rendered the defence successful. The town, although an English ally, was pillaged, Lord Wellington being forced to permit this act of barbarity to the temper of his troops. We have a profound respect for the English nation and its valiant army, but we must be permitted to observe that French soldiers never need such a stimulant as this.

Ciudad-Rodrigo, attacked on the 8th of January, had

thus fallen into the hands of the enemy on the evening of the 18th, and had, therefore, been taken within a space of ten days. Such a result may appear extraordinary, but the ruined state of the fortifications, the insufficiency of the garrison, the great number of the besiegers, and, we must add, the prodigality with which Lord Wellington expended the lives of his men, of which he took so much care in the open field, sufficiently explain the promptitude of this success, which cost the English army thirteen or fourteen thousand men in killed or wounded, and some of its most distinguished officers, especially the brave and hardy Crawfurd, who commanded the light division. The English having no special artillery troops, and their engineers, although very intelligent, being but little versed in the profound art of Vauban, neglecting the usual means of approach, had trusted the fate of the siege to assaults. This system, which had failed before Badajoz, which had succeeded before Ciudad-Rodrigo by means of many simultaneous attacks, is a mode of proceeding which requires a considerable army, the sacrifice of an immense number of men, and great energy, and which, notwithstanding the presence of these necessary advantages, is very liable to defeat before a numerous and resolute garrison.

The promptitude of the capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo was as a thunder-stroke to the commander of the armies of the North and of Portugal, and the staff at Madrid. The latter being the less surprised, since it had blamed the conveyance of all the disposable troops towards Valencia, of which Lord Wellington took so much advantage. The person most grieved was Marshal Marmont. At the moment when he received the news, which was on the 10th of January, of the commencement of the siege, he was proceeding from the banks of the Tagus to the banks of the Douro, relying upon the protraction of the defence to at least twenty days; and he hoped before the expiration of this period to have assembled five, or even six or seven of his own divisions, and to have obtained twelve or fifteen thousand auxiliary troops from the army of the north, by which means he would have been able to march to the relief of the besieged fortress at the head of forty thousand men. But the negligence of General Dorsenne, who was charged with the protection of Ciudad-Rodrigo, had very much abridged the time during which it was possible for the garrison to prolong the siege; and we must add that Marshal Marmont himself, in proposing to succour the place in twenty days, had not sufficiently considered the accidents which so frequently disappoint the most careful calculations. Nevertheless, although of a character naturally very generous, Marshal Marmont permitted

himself to declare that General Barrié was a miserable fellow who had not known how to defend the post committed to his care.

The despair of the Generals of the North and of Portugal on learning the result of the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo may easily be conceived, for old Castille was now unprotected, and our line of communication was exposed to the attempts of a solid army, which we had never yet really defeated, and which now began to lay aside its usual circumspection.

Marshal Marmont, who was excessively vigilant in everything which directly concerned himself, perceived the danger of his position, and seeing that Ciudad-Rodrigo was lost, was eager to supply its place by defensive works at Salamanca, which had become the capital of his government, and which was to be at a later period the scene of a bloody battle. He displayed much activity and intelligence in the plan of these works, making use of three large convents situated around Salamanca to supply the place of regular fortifications, which this city was without, and established there a sort of entrenched camp which a resolute troop would be able to defend for a considerable time. He also bestowed great pains on the establishment of magazines and hospitals.

The troops of General Montbrun had at length returned, but Marshal Marmont, although having now at his disposal seven fine infantry divisions and two of cavalry, could by no means regard with tranquillity the task before him. His infantry numbered about forty-four thousand men, and as at least ten thousand were necessary to guard the bridge of Almaraz on the Tagus, the cols de Banols and de Péralès on the Guadarrama, Zamora on the Douro, Leon and Astorga towards the Asturias, he was able to march at the head of only thirty-four thousand infantry, and his whole army, including the cavalry and artillery, numbered about forty thousand combatants, whilst the English army numbered about sixty thousand, of whom half were English and half Portuguese. It would not have been prudent to have attempted to meet such an army as the latter even with fifty thousand men, and most assuredly not if they had not been all at hand, well clothed, well armed, well fed, and if they had been detached upon a number of accessory services, which were indispensable in a country of which the population was entirely hostile. As for the reinforcement of four thousand men drawn from the army of the centre Marshal Marmont regarded it, with reason, as a chimera, in the situation in which Madrid was at that time. He could not reckon upon more than the twelve thousand men of General Caffarelli, who had replaced General Dorsenne, and who had found in

the state of the provinces of the north sufficiently plausible reasons to delay, and even to refuse, his contingent. He could not, therefore, quietly await the dangers which might pour around him; and in the meantime there was another part of his task at which he was no less terrified, and which was the defence of Badajoz. A secret presentiment, which does much credit to his foresight, warned him that Lord Wellington would probably, after the surprise of Ciudad-Rodrigo, proceed to surprise Badajoz, and he asked himself how he could quit Castille and leave it unguarded, for the purpose of flying to the defence of Badajoz, which was at least fifteen marches distant from Salamanca. In the midst of these perplexities he sent a confidential aide-de-camp to Paris to inform Napoleon of all these dangers, and to say that the only manner of preparing against them was, in his opinion, to unite under one command the armies of the north, of the centre, and of Portugal. Were he sure of always being obeyed, he said, he believed that, by a good distribution of his forces, and by always having fifty or sixty thousand troops at command, he might be in a state to resist the English; and although, he added, this would be a very considerable command to entrust to a person who, as was his own case, had neither performed such services nor gained such a reputation as could justify a pretence to it, nevertheless, what he proposed was far preferable to the divided state of command actually existing. In default of this concentration of command Marshal Marmont demanded permission to serve elsewhere.

It was a great disadvantage to Napoleon, that distrustful by character, and by long acquaintance with men, he permitted himself to fancy he perceived interested views even in the most judicious counsel. Napoleon loved Marshal Marmont who had been one of his aides-de-camp, and whose amiable and brilliant qualities he thoroughly appreciated; but, in consequence of long familiarity, and the habit of trusting him in an off-hand manner, he failed to attach sufficient importance to his advice, declaring that his head was turned with ambition, declaring that he was not capable of such a command, that to satisfy him Joseph would have to be deprived of the army of the centre, which was impossible, and that the Marshal besides was interfering in matters which did not concern him, since Badajoz had not been entrusted to his care; that he had but to guard well the north of the Peninsula against the English; that it was for the army of Andalusia to defend Badajoz, and that it would be perfectly sufficient to defend it provided the English should attack this place with two divisions, namely, with Hill's division rein-

forced, but that if they attacked it with five, which would be in fact with almost their whole army, led by Lord Wellington, that the army of Portugal should then throw itself upon Coimbra or even march upon Thomar, and that in that case Lord Wellington would be obliged to retrace his steps and to abandon the siege of Badajoz; that it was absolutely necessary to pursue this manner of manœuvring, and that if it became a matter of urgent need to succour the army of Andalusia, it should be by advancing by the Beira and the left of the Tagus as far as Coimbra or Thomar, being always careful to cover our line of communications with the Pyrenees.

These views were just, as were all those of Napoleon with regard to matters of war, but although generally so, it was by no means impossible that in particular cases they might lose their justness, and even become a source of ruin. If Badajoz, for example, instead of being placed in a state of defence, which would enable it to hold out for twelve months, should scarcely be in a position to maintain a siege during one, the diversion directed to be made on the Tagus, although very specious, would be no decisive reason to induce Lord Wellington to raise a siege which was on the point of being crowned with success. Moreover, it would be necessary that the march upon the Tagus should be attempted with sufficient forces, and for this purpose it would also be necessary that the armies of the north and of Portugal, at least, should be placed under a single head. But this, unfortunately, was what Napoleon was unwilling to admit.

The secret presentiment of Marshal Marmont with respect to the projects of Lord Wellington was but too well founded; for the latter, encouraged by the rapid conquest of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and feeling each day more persuaded that the French armies by their isolated movements would leave him time to execute short and unexpected sieges, had made every preparation on the day succeeding that on which Ciudad-Rodrigo was captured, to make a furious attempt on Badajoz, with immense supplies of whatever was necessary to a great siege, and with a prodigal expenditure of human blood. He had already, with this purpose, transported a vast matériel from Abrantès to Elvas, and marched successively all his divisions upon the Alentejo, taking care to remain in person upon the Coa, in order that his design might not be suspected; and in this object he perfectly succeeded.

The garrison of Badajoz had not ceased to besiege Marshal Soult with cries of alarm, and to demand aid at his hands. But Marshal Soult thinking that what had occurred once would occur again, and failing to take into account the al-

tered state of affairs, believed that Badajoz, which had already resisted a siege of two months, would certainly be able to resist the enemy now during one, especially since its defences had been perfected, and as time would thus be allowed both for himself and Marshal Marmont to advance to its aid, there was no occasion to be anxious respecting this threat of a new siege.

He should have considered that it is most unwise to rely on succour expected from a distance; that although the English had conducted the first siege very badly they might conduct the second much better and with greater means at their disposal, and that it was necessary therefore to place this fortress in a perfect state of defence. A garrison of five thousand men, which number was reduced to four thousand at the moment of investment by the enemy, was completely insufficient. Ten thousand men, with provisions and munitions in proportion, were necessary to resist the attack of the English army; and it would have been much better to have raised the garrison of Badajoz to this strength than to have left in Estremadura the corps of General Drouet, which could do nothing else than fall back before the first appearance of the English; for had the garrison consisted of ten thousand men and some cavalry it would have been able to overrun a great extent of surrounding country, and have served as a corps of observation for Estremadura better than the corps of General Drouet, would have been almost invincible in the case of a siege, and been able to provide itself both with forage and provisions. At the end of February, a month after the capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo, when it had become evident that the enemy projected a new siege, the fortress had no more than two months provisions, with a supply of powder by no means sufficient for the purposes of a long siege, and was completely without the wood necessary for palisades and blindages. The defences of the place, indeed, had been improved on the right as on the left. On the right bank the breaches of fort Saint Christoval had been repaired, the scarps raised, and the fosses deepened in the live rock. On the left bank the castle had been placed in a state of defence, the foot of the lunette of Picurina which covered it had been perfected, the flood of the Rivillas considerably increased by means of a strong retention of the waters, and finally, the fort of Pardaleras entirely closed at the gorge. The fronts on the south west had always been the most exposed part, but mines had been formed under these fronts in order to keep off the enemy. Wood, unfortunately, had been wanting for palisading the fosses, and the construction of blinds; but the heroism of the garrison enabled it to dispense with these, and to maintain their ground when exposed to the bombs and howitzers.

Such was the state of affairs when the English appeared under its walls on the 16th of March 1812, numbering at least fifty thousand men, and provided with an immense matériel. As they were no more skilful in the art of sieges now than they had been at the capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo they resolved to push forward the approaches just sufficient to render possible the establishment of the breaching batteries, and to enable them to take advantage of this numerical superiority to make two or three simultaneous assaults, which would be a costly, but most probably, effectual means of overwhelming the garrison, which despite its bravery would not be sufficiently numerous to resist them.

The investment of the fortress having been immediately completed the English, without loss of time, made choice of the point of attack. Disgusted by their misadventures in their previous attempts against the fort Saint Christoval, they directed their efforts on the left bank of the Guadiana, and consequently against the fortress itself. The attack on the side of the south west, although presenting greater facilities was still neglected, and this time from fear of the mines constructed in this quarter. The English advanced to the east towards the castle, and towards the fronts contiguous to the Trinidad gate, in spite of the flood of the Ravillas and the lunette de Picurina. On the 17th, on the day succeeding the investment of the fortress, they opened the trenches in front of the Picurina lunette, an unfinished work, of but slight relief, closed at the gorge by a simple palisade, and easily capable of being taken by assault, and the capture of which would render easy the erection of a battery with which to breach the fronts against which was to be directed the new attack. On the 19th the besieged desired to employ a means of defence which is both usual and efficacious in cases in which the garrison is brave and resolute, namely, a sortie, by which the works of the besiegers might be destroyed, the progress of the trenches delayed, and, consequently, the progress of the siege also. A sortie was, accordingly, executed by our troops, with great vigour, driving the English from their trenches and enabling us to destroy a portion of the trenches themselves; but our troops, in place of retreating without false pride when their end had been attained, persisted in disputing the ground with the enemy, and had twenty killed and a hundred and sixty wounded. The English loss amounted to three hundred men, but this number was of little importance to an army of fifty thousand, whilst the loss on our side was of great injury to the besieged who only amounted to four thousand. The garrison renounced, therefore, this means of prolonging the defence, which is efficacious only when a garrison is numerous.

The works having been pushed on with extreme activity, on the 25th of March the English were able to effect a breach in the Picurina lunette, to demolish its saillant, and break down the sides; and in the evening they attacked it with three strong columns supported by reserves. The lunette was only defended by two hundred soldiers selected from all the regiments; and no more troops, in the existing state of the garrison, could have been devoted to this purpose. The three columns having thrown themselves into the fosse (for the English persisted in their system of not pushing the approaches as far as the brinks of the fosse itself), one of them rushed behind the work, and attempted to tear away the palisades, so as to be able to enter the gorge, but recoiled before a very vigorous fire; and the second having at the same time attempted to enter the breach had been in like manner driven back; but the third planting ladders against the least protected portion of the wall reached the parapet at the very moment when the second column, returning from the check, escaladed the half demolished saillant. The little garrison having to resist two simultaneous attacks was insufficient for its task, and was compelled to lay down its arms; having lost eighty-three men in killed or wounded, whilst eighty-six were made prisoners. The loss on the side of the English was about three hundred.

Our artillery immediately opened a furious fire on the victors in possession of the Picurina lunette, and rendered the occupation of it very dangerous; and it was only by the sacrifice of many of the soldiers that they were able to effect a lodgment in the conquered work, and establish breaching batteries against the two opposite bastions. From this time they abandoned almost all their other batteries, the position of which had been very ill selected, and devoted themselves exclusively to the new ones.

In the meantime the French artillery, admirably served, made them pay dear for this rash manner of proceeding, but as powder soon began to fail, the garrison supplied the place of the fire of artillery with the fire of musketry, and the best marksmen of each regiment directed their fire against the English artillerymen. If the garrison had had sufficient powder and had been sufficiently numerous, a furious cannonade might have been accompanied by a vigorous sortie against the enemy's position in the gorge of the Picurina lunette, and would probably have deprived the besiegers of all the advantages they had obtained, and driven them back to the position they occupied at the commencement of the siege. The execution of such a sortie, however, would have required eleven or twelve hundred men, and the probable

sacrifice of three or four hundred; and it was far better that the garrison should reserve both itself and the powder it still possessed for the decisive day of assault.'

This moment was not long to be delayed; so rapid was the progress made by the besiegers and so incapable were the besieged of resisting it. The garrison, however, had already gained fifteen days, by the sacrifice, it is true, of seven hundred men out of four thousand, whilst the enemy had still failed to effect breaches in the two bastions by which they had determined to enter. On the 31st they had established various batteries containing twenty cannon of heavy calibre against the two bastions they were attempting to demolish. They prolonged their trenches to the right and left with the object of raising many other batteries which should reply to the artillery of the fortress, enfilade its defences, and increase the number of the breaches to three. Within a very short space of time there were fifty-two pieces of great calibre in position, from which was opened a terrific cannonade to which the garrison, which had reserved its munition until the last moment, replied by a fire which was no less vigorous, and which succeeded in dismounting many of the enemy's pieces, but the English possessing a superabundance of matériel and displaying great courage, replaced their dismounted cannon under a storm of projectiles; and our own artillerymen, who suffered themselves not to be surpassed or even equalled, in like manner maintained their ground in their ruined embrasures, and redoubled their exertions in the midst of flying shot and shell. The courage of the garrison had reached that pitch when danger is no more thought of, and they had sworn to a man to die rather than surrender, or go to die on the pontons in which the English, to the disgrace of civilization, caused their prisoners to perish. The most unfortunate persons in the midst of this terrible struggle were the inhabitants, a considerable number of whom, of the poorer classes, remained in the town. The garrison had had the humanity to afford them a sparing subsistence from its own stores; but not having the means of constructing casemates or blindages for itself, it could not protect these poor persons from the storm of shells in which it boldly lived itself. Terrible lamentations, therefore, filled this desolated town, and wrung the hearts of our soldiers who, insensible to their own perils, were full of compassion for the unfortunate creatures whom during fifteen months they had been accustomed to regard as their compatriots.

At length the decisive moment drew near. Three large breaches were effected in the attacked bastions, and the besiegers having contrived to diminish the volume of the

flood by destroying a portion of the banks by which it was retained, rendered these breaches accessible, without, however, taking the precaution, the neglect of which was to cost them dear, of throwing down the counterscarp, in conformity with the ordinary rules of military engineering.

Lord Wellington did the garrison the honour of not summoning it to surrender, for he knew that every proposal with respect to capitulation would be useless. The governor, in fact, having assembled the chief officers in council, it had been decided unanimously and amidst the acclamations of the troops, that they should await the assault, and rather perish sword in hand than surrender; and the garrison immediately employed all the means which the greatest skill could suggest for the defence of the breaches against a resolute enemy. The able and intrepid chief of the engineers planned and traced out the necessary works, and the soldiers executed them with enthusiasm. Whilst half of them guarded the ramparts the other half, working in the fosse, cleared the foot of the breaches, which was a perilous undertaking, but possible, since the enemy had not taken possession of the brink of the fosse. Many fell before the enemy's howitzers and grenades, but others continued to remove the heaps caused by the ruins. Unhappily the English artillery, still pursuing its work of demolition, speedily re-established these mounds. The most effectual work executed by the garrison was on the rampart itself, where a second entrenchment was constructed behind the breaches, chevaux de frise planted in front, barrels filled with explosive matter placed on the sides, and the streets barricaded which led to the point of attack. A last and formidable means of defence was prepared. The enemy persisting in not pushing the approaches up to the brink of the fosse, and not having thrown down the counterscarp (which is the wall of the fosse opposite the fortress), our troops were able to work at its foot. The commander of engineers, Lamare, placed there a long chain of bombs and barrels charged with explosive and destructive matter, connected by a chain of powder, to which it was planned that the brave officer of the engineers, Mailhet, lying in ambush in the fosse, should set fire at the moment of the assault.

These arrangements having thus been made, select troops were posted at the summit of the breaches with three muskets a man, cannon loaded with grape were placed at the sides, whilst a reserve, which was as strong as circumstances permitted, awaited the orders of the governor at the principal spot in the town. Lord Wellington had made every preparation for attempting the assault on the evening of the 6th of

April, the twenty-first day since his arrival before Badajoz; and had resolved to make it with such an enormous force that success would be almost certain.

On the 6th of April, therefore, about nine o'clock in the evening, the artillery of the besiegers vomited forth upon the fortress floods of destructive fire. Two divisions, under General Coleville, rushed directly towards the breaches, whilst Picton's division, furnished with ladders, proceeded to the right to attempt to escalade the castle at a point at which its weakness had been observed, and Leith's division turned to the left for the purpose of attempting another escalade at the extremity of the south west, which the English had hitherto neglected. The two divisions commanded by General Coleville arrived at the brink of the fosse, leaped in, and immediately rushed upon the breaches. A great shout from our soldiers announced their appearance, and they were permitted to advance until they had begun to climb the ruins, when the fire of musketry received them in front, whilst the grape shot took them in flank, and they were hurled down headlong from the breach; and whilst the rear of the columns attempted to support the first ranks, Mailhet, descending into the fosse in the midst of this frightful tumult, match in hand, at precisely the right moment, fired the long chain of bombs and barrels arranged along the foot of the counterscarp. Instantly there commenced on the rear of the assaulting columns, and in the path of those who supported them, a series of terrible explosions, which moment after moment hurled forth storms of destructive missiles and fatal fire. Moment after moment this murderous fire burst through the gloom, to be succeeded by the night, and again to burst forth, illumining death in a thousand different forms. Unhappily, the intrepid Mailhet was himself struck by the explosion of a shell. At length the two English divisions which had been thrown on the three breaches, notwithstanding their bravery, yielded to the fury of the resistance, losing their forward impulse under the incessant hail of musketry and grape shot hurled against them. Already almost three thousand English had fallen, and Lord Wellington was about to order a retreat when circumstances in another direction changed the whole course of affairs. On the right of the attack General Picton had, with rare intrepidity, planted ladders against the sides of the castle, and the Hessians, who were charged with the defence in this quarter, either from surprise or treachery, permitted the precious entrenchment which had been confided to their courage and their loyalty, to be invaded by the enemy, and an English officer rushing to the gates which led to the town hastened to close them,

and thus render the position of the English in the castle secure before the French should have time to arrive. The governor, Phillippon, who had been frequently deceived by false cries of alarm, and who kept his reserve for some moment of extreme danger, refused at first to believe the news of this entrance of the enemy into the castle; but convinced, too late, of the reality of the fact, he decided to dispatch thither four hundred men; and these, received at the first gate with a murderous fire, proceeded to the second to find their efforts there equally vain. In the excessive desire on our side to obtain admittance into the castle and expel the English, it was determined to detach from the south west walls, which had hitherto been neglected by the enemy, and now appeared but little threatened, a portion of the forces which defended them, for the purpose of assisting in the recapture of the castle. This was done, and Leith's division, which had planned an escalade on this side, finding the rampart abandoned were able by the aid of a multitude of ladders to reach the top of the wall, which was here but of little height; and the entrance had no sooner been effected than the troops of this division ran along the rampart to take à revers the French troops which had hitherto victoriously defended the breaches. Seeing this, the guard which defended the nearest front rushed upon the English with the bayonet and stopped them. But the latter returning immediately to the charge with overwhelming numbers regained the advantage, and spread themselves over the town. From this moment indescribable confusion arose in the ranks of the heroic garrison which defended the other portions of Badajoz; and the defenders of the breaches taken à revers, were compelled either to surrender or to fly. The governor, the chief of the engineers, and the staff, after having made every possible exertion, attempted, by running to the bridge of the Guadiana, to withdraw with some remnants of the garrison into the fort Saint Christoval, for the purpose of there defending themselves, but they were either killed or taken in their attempt.

On the following day they were conducted to the presence of Lord Wellington, who received them with all courtesy, but refused to listen to their entreaties in favour of the unhappy town of Badajoz. It certainly was not our duty to intercede for these Spaniards, or that of the English to punish them for our resistance; but Lord Wellington, after having politely received our officers, gave up, without pity, the town of Badajoz to pillage, as the just right of troops which had gone so valiantly to the assault.

The siege of Badajoz cost us about fifteen hundred in

killed or wounded, and three thousand prisoners, but it cost Lord Wellington more than six thousand men placed hors de combat, which was a greater number than he had lost in any of his battles. Nevertheless, his end was not the less attained. Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had been snatched from us, Portugal was closed against us, and thenceforth Spain lay open to the English.

Marshal Soult, on learning the peril of Badajoz, which had been frequently intimated to him, had tardily quitted the lines of Cadiz, and had at length set out to the succour of the besieged place, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, which were all the active troops of which he could avail himself, whilst continuing to guard Grenada and Seville, and he hastened to Llerena in the hope of finding there, as in the preceding summer, Marshal Marmont with thirty thousand men. A vain hope; for Marshal Marmont was not there; and the news of the capture of Badajoz threw Marshal Soult into the greatest consternation, for the sole trophy of his Andalusian campaign had thus escaped him, and should Lord Wellington choose to carry forward his operations by Estremadura and Andalusia, all the routes were open before him.

In the meantime Marshal Marmont had not remained idle. Bound to remain in old Castille by Napoleon's formal orders, he had recourse, on learning the extreme danger of Badajoz, to the manœuvre which had been prescribed to him. He had passed the Agueda with five divisions, dispersed the guerilla bands which infested the country, driven back the detachments of English troops which guarded the frontier of Portugal and then had paused from the fear of a failure of provisions, and the conviction also that what he did was perfectly useless. His manœuvre, however, was not altogether without effect, for the news of it induced Lord Wellington, who might have been tempted to attack Marshal Soult whose troops he knew to be only twenty-four thousand men, to suspend his march and resume the route of the north of Portugal.

Napoleon, on hearing of the capture by the enemy of these two places which had cost the French so much blood and so much exertion to obtain, and which had been the chief obstacles in the path of the English either to the north or to the south, was as much grieved as irritated, and attributed this misfortune to every one by turns; to Marshal Soult who, he said, at the head of eighty thousand men had done nothing at all; to Marshal Marmont, who had not known how, he complained, to modify orders issued to him at the distance of three hundred leagues. These reproaches were, however,

scarcely just. Marshal Soult had scarcely at that moment more than fifty thousand men at his disposal, and could not have made any serious opposition to the proceedings of the English but by the sacrifice of Grenada. His real mistake had been the leaving the corps of General Drouet in Estremadura, where it was perfectly useless, and of not having supplied Badajoz with ten thousand men, cavalry, and sufficient powder and provisions. Badajoz would thus have been able to hold out during many months, and time would have been afforded for its relief. As for Marshal Marmont, the order he received directing him to remain in old Castille, not to descend into Estremadura, and not to advance to the succour of Badajoz except by a diversion in the province of Beïra, was so precise, that no General, however bold, could have ventured to disregard it.

The position which this Marshal had originally taken, that of Almaraz on the Tagus, was the only suitable one, the only one which would have enabled him to advance by turns to the relief of Ciudad-Rodrigo or Badajoz. If, in fact, he had received reinforcements of twenty thousand men whom he might have posted at Salamanca, he would have been able to march upon Badajoz with the thirty thousand he had upon the Tagus, and in union with the army of Andalusia would have been able to meet Lord Wellington with fifty-five thousand men, and have raised the siege of Badajoz. If, on the other hand, the point of danger had been in the north, he might have repassed the Guadarrama, and finding there the twenty thousand men posted at Salamanca, would even in this case have at his command fifty thousand men with whom he might have checked all Lord Wellington's efforts. By refusing him a reinforcement of twenty thousand men and fixing him in old Castille, Napoleon had rendered the fall of Badajoz almost inevitable. Certainly the idea of a diversion directed from Salamanca upon Beïra was a just one, as any idea of Napoleon's with respect to war naturally would be, and it was proved so by its result, since it drew Lord Wellington to the north of Portugal the day after the capture of Badajoz. But unhappily it had drawn him away the day after instead of the day before its capture. The plan in itself was a very good one, but a general kind of fitness is not sufficient in practice, for without the most rigorous precision in the calculation of distances, time, and forces, the best plans must fail or even become sources of misfortune. Doubtless if Badajoz had contained a garrison of ten thousand men, and powder and provisions in sufficient quantity; and if the Duke de Ragusa had had fifty thousand men, and more magazines always well provisioned, and had marched

under these conditions upon Coimbra, Lord Wellington would infallibly a second time have relaxed his hold and abandoned the siege of Badajoz. But Badajoz having no means of making a protracted defence, and the Duke de Ragusa being unable with the means at his disposal to do anything but make an empty menace, it was impossible by a simple demonstration upon the Beïra to turn from his purpose so skilful and determined a man as Lord Wellington.

Thus in 1811 as in 1810 all our combinations in Spain had miscarried, and all the reinforcements sent thither been unavailing. Before entering upon the detail of the still sadder events which were about to happen to us in the Peninsula, let us retrace the course which affairs had taken there during the last two years. We have already seen in the fortieth book of this history how unfortunate had been the issue of 1810; how at this period Napoleon, who had wisely determined to employ all the available forces in Spain in the decision of the European question which he had carried thither, and to direct his chief efforts against the English, had permitted himself to be diverted from his plan by the persuasions of Joseph and Marshal Soult, and had consented to the fatal Andalusian expedition, which had caused the dispersion of forty-four thousand of the most veteran troops then in the Peninsula; we have seen how Masséna, sent to Lisbon with seventy thousand men, soon reduced to fifty thousand by local circumstances, had found in front of Torres Vedras an insurmountable obstacle, which nevertheless he might have been able to overcome had he been reinforced with twenty-five thousand men from Andalusia, and an equal number from Castille; how Marshal Soult had neither been able nor willing to aid him; how General Drouet had been equally unable; how Napoleon, engaging with disastrous facility in new designs, had refused him the fifty thousand men which would have been sufficient; and how, finally, the campaign, which should have struck the English a mortal blow, had only resulted in misfortunes to ourselves, and uselessly consumed the hundred and fifty thousand men who had been sent to the Peninsula after the peace of Vienna. These sad particulars are doubtless present to the memories of the readers of this history; and we have had to show in the present book that the results of the campaign of 1811 were no less unfortunate.

Since the middle of 1811 Napoleon had resolved to carry his arms, under his own command, to the north, that is to say, Russia; he should have confined himself in the meantime to an imposing defensive position in Spain; and had Marshal Suchet been left in Aragon or Catalonia, without rein-

forcements, but at the same time without the necessity of entering upon new tasks, this Marshal, especially after the capture of Tarragone, would have remained in peaceable and undisturbed possession of these provinces; had Marshal Soult been left at Seville, and Marshal Marmont on the Tagus, unburdened by the necessity of sending troops to Valencia, but ordered to hasten at the first signs of danger to the relief of Badajoz, as they already had, with so much success; and had Marshal Marmont been permitted to unite with his own troops the army of the north, receiving also the largest portion of the reserve, it is probable that the efforts of the English against Badajoz and Ciudad-Rodrigo might long have been baffled, and Lord Wellington reduced during a whole year to a state of inaction which would very much have injured him in the public opinion of his country. But unwilling to renounce anything, engaged in preparations for his gigantic expedition against Russia, desiring to carry forward matters energetically in Spain, flattering himself that they would be much advanced during the autumn and winter of 1811, Napoleon renewed, by his orders directing the expedition of Valencia, the fault which he had committed in permitting the expedition of Andalusia; condemned Marshal Soult to extend his operations without having received reinforcements, and whilst he concentrated all his available forces towards him for a moment, left Lord Wellington at liberty to seize Ciudad-Rodrigo, close the Beïra against us, and open Castille to himself.

Marshal Marmont had hastened to the relief of Ciudad-Rodrigo, but having to collect his widely-scattered forces had arrived too late, and this sole trophy of the campaign of Portugal was snatched from us. Badajoz still remained to us, also the sole trophy of the campaign of Andalusia; and we were to lose it by the same cause. Napoleon compelled, sooner than he had at first supposed, to recall from Spain his guard, the Poles, the dragoons, and the fourth battalions, and marching all to the north of the Peninsula with the object of subsequently marching them to the north of Europe, had drawn Marshal Marmont from the Tagus to the Douro, and posted him there, thus exposing Badajoz, which Lord Wellington, always on the alert, had seized as he had seized Ciudad-Rodrigo, taking advantage of the void left in front of this fortress by our erroneous movements. For the purpose therefore, of capturing Valencia, we had lost Badajoz and Ciudad-Rodrigo, the sole fruits of two difficult campaigns, the sole serious obstacle in the way of an offensive march on the part of the English. Such was, and could not but be, the result of this method of giving orders from a distance,

of giving orders whilst the mind was engaged on other matters, and of devoting to each object only half the resources and the attention it demanded.

The commission of these faults left our affairs in Spain in the following state. General Suchet remained at Valencia with a force just sufficient to keep the country in subjection, but far too small to render practicable any operations at the least distance; Marshal Soult was in the midst of Andalusia, with a force insufficient for the capture of Cadiz, and insufficient to engage the English, should they, after the capture of Badajoz, march against him, which was, however, very improbable; finally, Marshal Marmont in the north, where the English desired to strike the decisive blow, either on Madrid, or on the line of communication of the French armies, deprived of Ciudad-Rodrigo, would have been able, provided Joseph and General Caffarelli had reinforced him àpropos, to have assembled forty thousand men with which to engage Lord Wellington at the head of sixty thousand. This then was the state of affairs in Spain after there had been sent thither reinforcements to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand men in 1810, and forty thousand good troops and twenty thousand conscripts in 1811, in addition to more than four hundred thousand troops which had entered the Peninsula from 1808 to 1810! Of these six hundred thousand men there did not now survive the half; and of these only one hundred and seventy thousand were in a state fit for active service; and finally, we must add that of these one hundred and seventy thousand only forty thousand could, by being well manœuvred, be rendered capable of covering Madrid and Valladolid, or in other words the capital and our line of communications!

Napoleon, at the moment of his departure from Paris, having learned by experience the difficulty of commanding from a distance, adopted the plan of bestowing upon Joseph the command of all the armies serving in Spain, without prescribing to him, however, the sole plan of action which might yet have saved everything, and which was that of leaving Marshal Suchet at Valencia, since he was there, at the same time throwing back the army of Andalusia upon the Tagus, uniting it there under a sole command with the army of Portugal, and establishing these two armies, which together would have formed a compact force of eighty thousand men, in a well chosen position from which they could, at the first signs of danger, have advanced upon Madrid or Valladolid, following the line of march adopted by the English. But Napoleon contented himself with ordering all his Generals to obey Joseph's commands, without considering how

Marshal Suchet, who was in the habit of governing alone, how Marshal Soult, who was resolved to reign exclusively in Andalusia, and how Marshal Marmont, who had not ceased to be at variance with the Court of Madrid, on account of the interests of the army of Portugal, might be able or would be willing to submit to the exercise of this authority by Joseph, who had been so long slighted and sneered at by Napoleon himself. Marshal Jourdan, who was appointed chief of Joseph's staff, composed with respect to the state of affairs a memoir which was full of good sense and sound argument, pointing out all the inconveniences we have just alluded to, and it was sent to Paris. Before we narrate how it was answered by Napoleon, and, which is a far more serious matter, by events themselves, we must again turn our attention to the affairs of the north, to that other abyss into which Napoleon, constrained by his evil genius, was about to plunge his own destinies, and, unfortunately, those of France at the same time.

BOOK XLIII.

PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN.

PROGRESS of events in the north—A success of the Russians, removing all appearance of feebleness on their part, disposes the Emperor Alexander to send M. de Nesselrode to Paris in order to make an amicable arrangement of the differences with France—At this news, Napoleon, averse to the pacific objects of this mission, treats Prince Kourakin with extreme coldness, and displays a disposition with respect to the mission of M. de Nesselrode which compels Russia to renounce it —Final and extensive preparations for war—Vastness and distribution of the forces assembled by Napoleon—Movement of all his armies on a line which stretches from the Alps to the mouths of the Rhine and advances to the Vistula—His precautions to arrive insensibly as far as the Niemen without provoking the Russians to invade Poland and old Prussia—Orders given to M. de Lauriston to hold pacific language, and M. de Czernicheff sent to persuade the Emperor Alexander that the sole object is a negotiation supported by an armed demonstration— Political alliances of Napoleon—Treaty of co-operation with Prussia and Austria—Negotiations towards an alliance with Sweden and with the Porte—Efforts to excite a war between America and England, and the probability of their success—Last arrangements of Napoleon before quitting Paris—Interior situation of the Empire—Scarcity, finances, state of public opinion—Situation at Saint Petersburg—Alexander's reception of the mission of M. de Czernicheff—Influenced by the movements of the French army, and the treaties of alliance concluded with Prussia and Austria, the Emperor Alexander determines to depart for his head quarters, still declaring his readiness to negotiate— Having received information of this movement, Napoleon orders a new movement of his troops, sends M. de Narbonne to Wilna to diminish the effect which might be produced by this movement, and quits Paris on the 9th of May, 1812, accompanied by the Empress and all her court —Arrival of Napoleon at Dresden—Assembly in this capital of almost all the sovereigns of the continent—Prodigious spectacle of power— Napoleon, informed that Prince Kourakin had demanded his passports, charges Prince Kourakin with a new mission to Alexander in order to prevent premature hostilities—Vain hopes in respect to Sweden and Turkey—Views relative to Poland—Chances of its reconstitution—Mission of M. de Pradt as Ambassador of France to Warsaw—

Return of M. de Narbonne to Dresden, after having fulfilled his mission to Wilna—Result of this mission—The month of May having passed by Napoleon quits Dresden for his head quarters—Horrible sufferings of the people oppressed by our troops—Napoleon at Thorn—Immense equipage of the army and excessive development of the staffs—Napoleon's interview with Marshal Davoust and King Murat —His sojourn at Dantzic—Vast system of interior navigation for the purpose of transporting our convoys to the midst of Lithuania—Arrival at Konigsberg—Final rupture with Bernadotte—The declaration of war with Russia founded on a false pretext—Plan of campaign—Arrival at the bank of the Niemen—Passage of this river on the 24th of June—Contrast between Napoleon's projects in 1810 and his enterprises in 1812—Sad presentiments.

BOOK XLIII.

NAPOLEON and Alexander had remained since the month of November last in a posture of defence, presenting to each other a menacing aspect, the latter not desirous of war, indeed terrified at its risks, yet resolved to hazard them rather than sacrifice the dignity, or the commercial prosperity of his people, and, meantime, neglecting nothing which might terminate the Turkish quarrel, whether by arms or diplomacy; the former, on the contrary, without eagerness for the conflict, nay, decided in his measures much more by ambition than taste for danger, and making his preparations with an emulous energy proceeding from an immovable conviction of its necessity sooner or later, should he require from Russia the same absolute submission which Prussia and Austria paid him. While affairs stood thus, now that all that could be said had been said on the occupation of Oldenburg, the admission of neutrals into Russian ports, the origin of the mutually defiant armaments of France and Russia, and that all fresh negotiations concerning topics so monotonous were become impossible, there was nothing left but silence and action. Now it was one corps which had to be organized, now another; this to be moved towards the Dwina or the Dnieper, that towards the Oder or the Vistula. But things could not go on thus without the certainty that the two opponents must soon find themselves face to face, hand to hand, and ready for mutual slaughter. All men of sense and right-mindedness in Russia, France, and Europe generally, some on the common grounds of reason and humanity, others on the more special yet generous motives of patriotism, felt with pain that the issue of a persistance for some days longer in this silence and activity must be a deluge of blood from the Rhine to the Volga. The most active champion of these noble sentiments, M. de Lauriston, forced himself to write to Paris to the purport that there was no wish for hostilities at

Saint Petersburg, that on the contrary, it was opposed to their sympathies, but that if begun, it would be waged with fearful resolvedness; still should France consent to humour slightly the Russian sensitiveness, make some concessions in favour of the Prince of Oldenburg, and be contented with measures a little more rigorous against the English flag, it at least might assure the preservation of peace for itself, however matters might turn out in the rest of Europe. By means of insisting he had drawn from Napoleon some expressions, such as, "Lauriston permits himself to be overreached," outbreaks to which M. de Bassano added dispatches full of arrogance and blindness.

Distressed at not being listened to at Paris, M. de Lauriston insisted upon being so at Saint Petersburg, taking pains to point out the difficulty and danger of a fresh struggle with Napoleon; and demanded, with the dignity of honest conviction, that instructions should instantly be sent to Prince Kourakin to obtain an explanation on all the disputed points, for, he declared incessantly, none of the points on which the two powers appeared to be at variance were worth a war. The cabinets of Vienna and Berlin adopted the same course, the one in good faith, the other from motives of prudence. Prussia saw in an European conflagration, in which she would be forced to take part, new dangers for herself, and her prudent King, Frederick William, was not one of those who, when in a state of misfortune, think it necessary to take active proceedings at the risk of bringing on themselves still greater misfortunes. Moreover, the obligation which Prussia would be under of declaring herself in favour of Napoleon should war be declared, was very repugnant to Germanic sentiment which, although repressed, nevertheless existed in perfect sincerity. Frederick William, therefore, was ardently desirous of peace, and transmitted to Saint Petersburg urgent entreaties, and had even proposed the intervention of his good offices, with a view to the maintenance of peace between France and Russia; all these exertions, however, had been received with disdain by the latter, which was indignant that Prussia was not her ally. Austria, although she hoped that a fresh struggle between France and Russia would furnish her with opportunities of reinstating her fortunes at the expense of the one or the other of them, was nevertheless no less terrified at the idea of a war between these powers, especially as she perceived the necessity of being the ally of France, and was urgent, therefore, in her advocacy of peace at Saint Petersburg, and offered her intervention, which was rejected as disdainfully as had been the same offer by Prussia. At length, Russia,

who was importuned with entreaties which seemed to imply that the maintenance of peace depended on her, replied to the ministers of the two powers—"Advise others to maintain peace, since you seem so desirous of it. Advise those to maintain it who now wish for war, and compel me in my own despite to prepare for it."

As it was so repeatedly urged that some attempt at explanation ought to be made before the sword was finally drawn, and that Prince Kourakin was not calculated to appease the quarrel, the government at Saint Petersburg had at length turned its eyes towards a man who was well fitted to re-establish a good understanding between the disputing powers, if it were possible. This was M. de Nesselrode, principal secretary to the legation at Paris, very young, but very distinguished, talented, far-sighted, and judicious, possessing the confidence of the Emperor Alexander, and treated with much more serious consideration by the Emperor Napoleon than Prince Kourakin himself. He had been heard to say, since his return to Paris, that if it were really desired all could be arranged; that Napoleon was not so passionately fond of war as had been supposed; and that by treating him in an open straightforward manner an honourable arrangement could easily be obtained. The government at Saint Petersburg was very much inclined, therefore, to send him to Paris with instructions and powers to arrange all the questions recently raised, and which had been envenomed rather by what had not been, than by what had been said. M. de Nesselrode showed that he felt exceedingly flattered at being entrusted by such a mission at his early age, and made every preparation for securing its success. Unfortunately, however, that which so much flattered him inspired M. de Romanzoff with the utmost jealousy, and although the latter was extremely interested in preventing the war, he took umbrage at the progress made by the young diplomatist and the confidence which Alexander appeared to repose in him. He made, therefore, certain objections to this mission, although he was ready to make many sacrifices for the purpose of maintaining peace and an alliance with France. One of these objections, and it was especially calculated to touch Russian susceptibility was, that to send an envoy to Paris with a special mission to negotiate a peace, would have the appearance of imploring it, especially when the senders were not the authors of the measures which had provoked the war.

However, an event which had lately happened in Turkey to the advantage of the Russians, afforded them an opportunity which they resolved to seize, of sending M. de Nesselrode to Paris without showing any appearance of timidity. General

Kutusof, who was at this time charged with the direction of the war, had taken advantage of the negligence of the Turks, who, after the capture of Rutschuk had remained inactive, for by drawing them to Nicopolis by feigning an intention to pass the Danube, since he had crossed it near Rutschuk, he had surprised the vizier's camp, dispersed a portion of his troops, and held the remainder strictly blockaded in an isle of the stream. This success, which appeared calculated to compel the Porte to treat for peace, had caused great rejoicings in Saint Petersburg, whither the news had arrived in November, 1811. General Kutusof had been immediately authorised to open a negotiation for peace, ceasing to propose some of the conditions on which Russia had formerly insisted. Thus, the surrender of the Danubian provinces, which were Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, was no longer to be demanded, but only that of Bessarabia and Moldavia, and this last as far as the Sereth; in addition to a species of independence for Servia, a small territory on the coast of the Caucasus, at the mouth of the Phase, and a sum of twenty millions of piastres towards the payment of the expenses of the war. Negotiations were opened on these bases at Giurgevo, and an armistice of several months agreed on; and every moment it was hoped at Saint Petersburg that a courier would arrive bringing tidings of the conclusion of a peace.

These results, although less brilliant than those which Alexander had dreamed of obtaining, since he had flattered himself that besides Finland, he might be able to add to his empire at one stroke Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, were sufficiently advantageous, and the acquisition of Finland and Bessarabia alone would throw considerable lustre on the commencement of a reign which would probably last a considerable time longer. But Alexander's chief reason for rejoicing in these results was, that they enabled him to send M. de Nesselrode to Paris without showing any signs of timidity. All his troops being set at liberty by the conclusion of the war on the Danube, he would appear as much to give peace as to receive it.

Instructions, therefore, were prepared for M. de Nesselrode; Alexander taking the trouble to draw them up himself, and authorising M. de Lauriston to announce the speedy departure of the new plenipotentiary. M. de Nesselrode was advanced a step in diplomatic rank that he might present himself before Napoleon clothed in all the signs of the Imperial confidence. A last courier was impatiently awaited from the banks of the Danube, that M. de Nesselrode might be despatched at the moment when the conclusion of the war with Turkey should be known, that the new negotiations might

be conducted on the side of Russia with the greater dignity and force.

The various courts of the continent, and more especially those of Austria and Prussia, were informed of these proceedings; and M. de Lauriston sent an account of them to Paris with the evident satisfaction of a good citizen, more delighted with having done what he considered right than what he was certain would meet with approval; for it is very evident from his language that he was very doubtful respecting the manner in which his court would regard his efforts for the maintenance of peace.

Certain news of the departure of M. de Nesselrode did not arrive in Paris until the middle of September, and then for various reasons very much disconcerted Napoleon. He had already received information of the reverses sustained by the Turks, who, he said, had behaved like brutes, and he regarded the conclusion of the war with Turkey as the commencement of the war with France; having always supposed, in fact, that the Russians only awaited this event to turn against him, and force him to choose, as in fact he had already done, between unacceptable conditions or war. The news of the mission of M. de Nesselrode no longer left him in any doubt; for he concluded from it that Russia considered the war in Turkey to be almost concluded, and hastened to take advantage of its conclusion to dictate conditions to France. There was something in this which greatly irritated him, and would have excited him to an outburst of passion, had he not conceived a vast plan which demanded the most profound dissimulation. He was anxious, in fact, whilst always protesting his desire for peace, and continually repeating that his armaments were simple measures of precaution, to arrive successively on the Oder and the Vistula, before the Russians should have crossed the Niemen, in order to preserve the immense stores of grain and forage which were in Poland and old Prussia, and which the Russians would not fail to destroy if time were allowed them to do so, since they loudly boasted of being ready to make deserts of their provinces, as the English had made one of Portugal. It was on this account that Napoleon, after having made himself secure of Dantzic, took care at this moment to render himself secure of the navigation of the Frische-Haff by negotiations with Prussia, in order to pass by water from Dantzic to Konigsberg, and from Konigsberg to Tilsit. It was from the Niemen only that he intended to make use of land transport, and, flattering himself that he would be able to convey provisions for his army a distance of two hundred leagues, he believed that he would be able to advance sufficiently far to

strike a blow at the very heart of Russia. The whole of this plan, however, would be baffled, should the Russians foresee it, and pouring down suddenly upon old Prussia and Poland, devastate them, burning their granaries, and driving off the cattle. It was necessary, therefore, little by little, unperceived and without a decided rupture with the enemy, to reach the Vistula, and from thence the Pregel before the enemy; it was necessary, also, and this was a moment of no less importance, to retard hostilities until the year 1812, for a necessary condition of the efficacy of the immense transport service which Napoleon had prepared, was the collection and maintenance of a great number of horses, and that it might not be necessary so to overburden them with provender for themselves, that they would be unable to convey provisions for the troops, it was necessary to defer the war until June, at which time, in the north, the earth is covered with food fit for cattle. Moreover, considering the extent of his preparations, although they had already occupied two years, Napoleon knew that two months were not to be despised and that as the weapon of the Russians would be destruction whilst his own would be the creation of resources, time would be of little aid to them whilst it was indispensable to himself.

For these reasons, therefore, it was necessary that he should glide, as it were, as far as the Vistula, gaining not only ground but also time without provoking a rupture. For the purposes of such a design as this nothing could be more favourable than an indefinite species of quarrel in which there was a constant repetition of such vague complaints as—"You arm. . . And you also. . . . But you began to arm first. . . . Nay, that is not truth, it was you. . . . We have no wish for war. . . . . And we are equally averse to it." . . . . . and such declarations, which were apparently very insignificant, but were in reality well calculated on by him who occupied whole months with these purposeless reproaches, gaining by means of them December, January, and February, and hoping to be able by their aid, to snatch the months still remaining up to June. As, therefore, a clear and categorical explanation must have put an end to a situation which was so favourable to Napoleon's designs, the arrival of M. de Nesselrode, by provoking this explanation, could not but be far from agreeable to him. Whatever skill he might employ, it was impossible that so keen sighted a man as M. de Nesselrode could be prevented from forcing him to a complete explanation.

He formed the resolution, therefore, of giving immediately his final military orders, and at the same time of taking the

most convenient method of preventing M. de Nesselrode from coming to Paris, whilst still carefully guarding against wounding the pride of Russia or driving her to an immediate rupture. He saw Prince Kourakin very frequently; he knew, for the rumour of it had already spread over all Europe, that the mission of M. de Nesselrode would speedily take place, and he never alluded to it in conversation with the Prince, which was a sufficiently plain manner of showing his disapproval of it. Nor did he stop here; for, conversing on the subject with the Prussian ambassador, who as a matter of course listened to his words and reported them to Berlin, whence the desire of aiding in the cause of peace would cause their speedy transmission to the court of Saint Petersburg, without displaying any decided intention of not receiving M. de Nesselrode, he manifested considerable dissatisfaction on the subject, appearing to disapprove of the éclat given to this species of extraordinary mission, which was, he declared, a means of exciting the amour-propre of the disputing powers, and to render them less inclined to make mutual concessions. To this indirect disapprobation of the mission of M. de Nesselrode he added, on an important occasion, a marked coldness towards the Russian legation itself. On the first day of the year, a day devoted to receptions he scarcely addressed a word to Prince Kourakin, who, very attentive to little things, did not fail to remark it, and concluded that the mission of M. de Nesselrode was either too late, or displeasing, and that there was no chance of its success. A matter of still graver import was the rumour of the orders given by Napoleon, and a rumour, however slight, always reaches the ear of an ambassador, however ill-informed. Napoleon had urged the exercise of the greatest discretion, but so many persons had to be confided in, and some of the matters to be executed were in themselves so difficult of concealment, that, although secrecy might be possible with respect to the public, it was not so with respect to a diplomatist who, moreover, paid well for the offices of treachery. In fact M. de Czernicheff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander, who was frequently in Paris, had purchased the services of a clerk, who betrayed the most important secrets of the Minister of War. By these various means, therefore, Prince Kourakin learned Napoleon's orders, and these orders could not leave him in doubt respecting the certainty of speedy hostilities.

In the first place he had ordered M. de Cessac, who had become Minister of War, to prepare the senatus-consultum for the levy of the conscription of 1812; a measure which was necessarily very significant since, the ranks having al-

ready received the whole conscription of 1811, were sufficiently filled for an armament of simple precaution. In the next place Napoleon had demanded of the German governments that they should furnish him with their complete contingents, and had demanded this not only of the chief of them, who were capable of keeping a secret, but even of the little Princes, by whom it was certain to be speedily divulged. He had written in cypher to Marshals Soult and Suchet to send him immediately the regiments named de la Vistula; and had given orders for the immediate return of the young guard, which was cantoned in Castille, and of the dragoons.

Independently of these orders Napoleon had marched upon the Rhine, not the detachments of the guard which were in Paris itself, which would have caused too great a sensation, but those which were stationed in the environs, such, for example, as the regiments of the Dutch guard. He urged on the purchases of horses which had not, in his opinion been executed with sufficient rapidity, and set in motion batallions d'equipages of which the organisation was complete. Finally he sent orders directing the movement of the army of Italy. This army having to traverse Lombardy, the Tyrol, Bavaria, Saxony, to reach the line on the Vistula occupied by the army under Marshal Davoust, had to commence its march a month earlier than the others to enable it to be equally advanced. However, as of all the measures which he had to take this would be the most striking, since he could not displace the army of Italy, and send it forth from its cantonments to overrun half Europe without taking a decided step in respect to the war, he was anxious to keep this matter perfectly secret, and communicated with Prince Eugene without the intervention of the public offices. He directed this Prince to dispose of his divisions at Brescia, Verona, and Trieste for the middle of January, in order that they might be ready to march towards the end of the same month with all their matériel; and he demanded that they should be prepared to set out in January although he did not expect that he would require them until February, because his great experience had taught him that a month was not too much to allow for inevitable delays. He had planned to send forward the Italian troops towards the end of February, and of not moving those of Marshal Davoust until the course of March, but to throw them rapidly upon the Vistula should the news of the movement of the army of Italy draw the Russians to the Niemen. Otherwise he proposed to push slowly his columns on the Vistula so as to have them there by the middle of May, to carry from thence by the middle

of May to the Pregel, and by the middle of June to the Niemen. By thus allowing three months for the movements from the Elbe to the Niemen, both men and horses would be able to arrive without being fatigued, and reach the theatre of war completely effective and well equipped.

Of all these measures the Russian legation was ignorant only of the departure of the army of Italy, with which Prince Eugene was alone acquainted, and the recall of the Polish troops of Spain which had been made by sealed despatches to Marshals Soult and Suchet. It was acquainted, however, with all the others and could not, therefore, retain any doubt respecting the commencement of the war in 1812. Prince Kourakin, in fact, had not retained any since the commencement of January, since the reserve, evidently intended, which had been kept towards him with respect to the mission of M. de Nesselrode, the unusual coldness which had been displayed towards him, and which was in great contrast with the civilities of which he had hitherto been the object; and finally, all the proceedings with which public rumour alone was sufficient to make him acquainted, were equivalent to the most warlike demonstration. Prince Kourakin, therefore, despatched on the 13th of January an extraordinary courier to inform his court of what he had learned and observed, and to express his opinion that war was certain! and that it was absolutely necessary to prepare for it. He even demanded instructions with respect to extreme cases, such as, for example, the event of his having to leave Paris. Perhaps his great sensibility to the cold manner in which he had been treated by the court had strengthened his convictions; but if his displeasure on this account had alone caused him to declare that the French had resolved on war, this displeasure had but served to enlighten him with respect to the truth, for at this moment war had certainly been irrevocably determined on.

When Prince Kourakin's despatches arrived at Saint Petersburg every preparation had been made for M. de Nesselrode's mission to Paris, and it only awaited the arrival of a courier from Constantinople. Unhappily this courier did not arrive, and M. de Romanzoff, full of jealousy of the young diplomatist, took an unfair advantage of this delay. The courier sent by Prince Kourakin had reached Saint Petersburg on the 27th and excited there the most lively sensation. The perusal of the despatches which he brought filled all minds with the Ambassador's opinion, and no one could any longer doubt that war was imminent. Already the general opinion had inclined to the belief that this would be the actual issue, and rather than submit as Prussia or

Austria, to all the demands of Napoleon, rather than sacrifice what was left of Russian commerce, all Russia resolved to brave the last extremities. As, however, there is always a great difference between the expectation of a fact and a fact itself, and a difference to which the minds of men are extremely sensitive, the public mind in Saint Petersburg was now profoundly agitated, and to such an extent that M. de Lauriston was able to say without exaggeration that all Saint Petersburg was filled with consternation.

It was considered in Europe at that period so great a hazard to brave Napoleon, his genius, and his valiant armies; there were so many terrible recollections such as those of Austerlitz, d'Jéna, d'Eylau, and Friedland, that even those who were inspired with the most noble sentiments of patriotism, or the most bitter enmity of aristocratic Europe against us, could not fail to experience a sensation of terror at the idea of recommencing a struggle which had always succeeded so ill. And indeed, if Fortune were this time unpropitious, Russia would be exposed to the danger of falling to that second rank to which Prussia and Austria had descended, and of which all Russians had so great a horror. Providence, which keeps its secrets so well, had not yet declared its secret on this point, and the Russians were as ignorant that they were on the eve of their grandeur as Napoleon that he was on the eve of his fall. But even of the secrets of Providence genius can always discover some trace, and they are sometimes unveiled even to the glance of passion.

Passion, which so generally blinds men and so rarely enlightens them, nevertheless, on the present occasion assisted the Russians to discern a portion of the truth. The catastrophe of Charles XII. returned vividly to their remembrance; the recent distress of Masséna in Portugal; which had been caused by means of devastations, and which had been published throughout all Europe with a kind of barbarous boasting, was no less eagerly considered; and everywhere throughout Russia it was declared that without destroying the fields of others, as the English had done, they would be able by devastating their own country, to place Napoleon in a position more frightful still than that in which the English had placed Masséna. The general cry, therefore, of the whole Russian army was, that it would devastate the whole country, and then withdraw into the farthest part of Russia, and that it would then be seen how the terrible Emperor of the French would be able to subsist in the midst of desolated plains, totally wanting in food for his soldiers as in forage for his cattle, and that, like another

Pharaoh he would perish in the vastness of the desert, as the other in the vastness of the deep. This plan of avoiding great engagements, and of retreating and devastating the country had obtained a hold on every mind. There were even amongst the officers of Alexander men of unusually ardent temperament who advised that the desert should be carried forward, and that for this purpose they should invade Poland and old Prussia, and after having destroyed their rich granaries immediately retreat.

Alexander, who shared the general opinion that Napoleon should be opposed by means of long tracts of country and devastation, was resolved to decline battles and to retreat into the very interior of Russia to avoid them, only pausing to fight when the French should be exhausted with hunger and fatigue; but he did not concur with those who urged the immediate devastation of old Prussia and Poland. To take the offensive and to advance was to offer opportunities to the great gainer of battles, and to share with him, also, the wrongs of aggression, at least in the eyes of the populations, and Alexander, before demanding of his nation the least sacrifices, was anxious that the whole universe should be convinced that he was not the aggressor. Finally, Alexander had a reason for declining to adopt this course of conduct which he expressed least, but which nevertheless influenced him considerably, and this was, that being anxious to preserve peace as long as it could honorably be preserved, he was unwilling to compromise it by an imprudent initiative. In the meantime M. de Romanzoff, whose policy had been founded on the French alliance, and who would lose by the war the very basis of his system, and the true motive for his admittance into the councils of the empire, still flattered himself that when Napoleon should be on the Vistula, and Alexander on the Niemen, it would be possible to bring about a species of armed negotiation, and that on the very eve of the frightful contest the various powers would probably be more pliable; that Napoleon having seen more clearly the difficulties attending this distant warfare would be less exacting, and that an explanation would be come to at the last moment, and a means of compromise discovered which would save the honour of both. This was a feeble hope, doubtless, but it was, nevertheless, one which neither Alexander nor M. de Romanzoff were willing to renounce.

In accordance with these views Alexander, with the assistance of his ministers and some generals who were in his confidence, determined on the plan to be adopted for the conduct of the war. It was decided that there should be two considerable armies, and their elements were already assem-

bled, the one on the Dwina and the other on the Dnieper, two rivers which, rising within a few leagues distance of each other, flow, the first towards Riga and the Baltic, and the second towards Odessa and the Black Sea, thus describing a vast transverse line from the north west to the south east, and constituting, so to say, the interior frontier of the great Russian empire. These two armies having their advanced posts on the Niemen, were to retreat at the approach of the enemy, forming a complete mass of two hundred and fifty thousand men, to whom it was hoped that reserves to the number of one hundred thousand might speedily be added. A third army, of forty thousand men, was to be a corps of observation in the direction of Austria, uniting with that of the Danube which amounted to sixty thousand men, and these, according to the course of events in Turkey, would proceed to the theatre of war and thus increase to four hundred thousand men the sum total of the Russian forces.

These resources, independently of the vast tracts of space, of the climate, and the projected devastation, were of considerable force, and supported the confidence of the Russians. But other motives contributed still further to fortify them. The Russians thought that in this struggle public opinion would play an important part, and that those who were able to obtain it in their favour would thereby have a great advantage. They knew that France herself, although condemned to silence, did not approve of these incessant wars, in which blood was poured out for objects which it did not understand, since its frontiers had not only attained but even passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. And that notwithstanding the immense enthusiasm for the person of Napoleon, a bitter hatred had begun to arise against him and would burst forth at the first reverse; that this hatred was, in Germany, by no means concealed, but, on the contrary, eager and public, and more violent than even in Spain, where the exhaustion consequent on the war had somewhat relaxed it; that in the allied states, such as Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, the conscription would speedily become the most odious of institutions; that in Prussia, moreover, in addition to the distress caused by continual wars was that caused by the loss of its pristine greatness; that in Austria, where an outward appearance of calm had prevailed since the peace and the marriage, the court cherished a hatred which was more bitter than ever against France, regretting, as it did, the loss of Italy, and above all of Illyria; and that finally, in the North, in Poland even, there were sufferings which very much diminished the enthusiasm for Napoleon,

and procured adherents to the opinions of certain great Polish lords who thought Poland should be reconstituted, not by France, but by Russia, and that the crown of the Jagellons should be placed on the head of Alexander, or a prince of his family. And certainly unfortunate Poland, which had no other wealth than its corn, its wood, and its hemp, which could no longer be transported by the port of Dantzic since the continental blockade, suffered horribly; its nobility being ruined, its people overburdened by imposts, and the city of Dantzic, converted from a rich commercial city into a fortified town, reduced to the last state of misery. General Rapp, an accomplished courtier, but nevertheless a man of good heart, had been so touched by the spectacle of these evils that he had pointed them out to Marshal Davoust, declaring that if the French army suffered a single reverse there would be an insurrection from the Rhine to the Niemen. The cold and stern Davoust himself, although caring little for sufferings which he was always ready to share with his soldiers, and observing with respect to public affairs the silence which he imposed upon others, had nevertheless transmitted to Napoleon the letters he received on this subject from General Rapp, accompanying them with these remarkable words; "I remember, in fact, Sire, that had not your Majesty performed miracles at Ratisbonne in 1809, our situation in Germany would have been a very different one.

Those were sad truths which, added to the consciousness of their real strength inspired the Russians with a confident determination to enter upon a formidable struggle, and, said they, if war be pregnant with cruel misfortunes, it also frequently affords considerable advantages; should Napoleon, as Charles XII., find in Russia the plains of Pultawa, all Germany would rise in his rear, the allied princes would be forced by their people to withdraw from his alliance, Poland herself would conceive the idea of obtaining her reconstitution at other hands than those of Napoleon, and France, exhausted by the shedding of her blood, and worn out by the sacrifices to which she was compelled by a boundless and unreasonable ambition, would no longer be capable of those efforts which, at former periods, she had made for the support of Napoleon's greatness.

These motives confirmed Alexander in the resolution of putting Napoleon completely in the wrong, and of declining to take the initiative, of remaining on the bank of the Niemen without passing it, and awaiting in a formidable but reserved attitude the approach of the enemy. This course of conduct, appeared to him the best both in a military and political point

of view without taking into account that it preserved a chance of peace which at the last moment might disarm the whole world.

The Russian diplomatic agents were directed to act in the spirit of this policy. There was evidently nothing to be hoped for from Prussia and Austria; but the alliances which were offered with ardour and even with importunity, were those of England, and (is it credible?) of Sweden. An alliance with England was natural and legitimate, and was inevitably the first blow struck between France and Russia. The English cabinet, in its impatience to conclude this alliance, had availed itself of a demand of saltpetre made by Russia to neutral commerce, to send to Riga twelve vessels filled with powder; and had then despatched to Sweden an agent, Mr. Thornton, who, on the appearance of the least hope that he would be received was to throw himself into the first Russian port that should be open to him; and in the meantime he was to endeavour to enter into communication with the Russian legation through the Swedish cabinet.

Nothing, we must add, could have been more natural than this impatience of the British Cabinet, and the only objection that could be made to it is that it was too petulant, and by its over-eagerness exposed itself to the reproach, if a reproach were still possible, of those whom she had desired to disunite for ever. But Sweden, or to speak more precisely, the Prince who owed to France his advancement to the throne of Sweden, employed himself with the greatest eagerness to seek out our enemies and to form alliances against us. Instead of being astonished at the spectacle of this dishonest heart, we are rather revolted; and it is one of the most striking portions of the extraordinary scene which at this moment was presented to the eyes of the world.

We have noticed the manner in which Prince Bernadotte, elected Crown Prince of Sweden, had already declared himself in active and undisguised hostility to Napoleon, with the occasion and object of this change of policy. The refusal of Norway, an act which formed so honourable an exception to the Emperor's general conduct, and the contemptuous silence enjoined on the French embassy, awakened in his heart the old hatred long nourished against Napoleon, and which had for its source, however incredible it may appear, simple envy. Naturally of an envious disposition he presumed to look with an evil eye on the man who should have ever remained far beyond the mark of his jealousy, such was the pre-eminence of fame and station on the side of General Bonaparte above all the claims of General Bernadotte. That he should have looked with malignity on the glory of Moreau, Masséna,

Lannes, Davoust, men a thousand-fold his superiors, might have been conceived; but for such a sentiment towards Napoleon there was required the very frenzy of envy kindled in a little heart and mean spirit. Invested for a time with the regency, in consequence, as has been narrated, of the bad health of the king, then, though deprived of the post from the sovereign's terror at an excessive alteration in the relations with France, still in secret the chief mover of the national policy, he had suddenly gone over to the parties originally opposed to his succession, namely, the English faction, composed of the trading and landed interests which found their advantage in the interdicted commerce, and the noblesse whose principle was hatred of France and innovation. To them the tone of his language, more or less distinctly expressed according to circumstances, but always remarkable for imprudence, was that he had determined to be no slave of Napoleon's, that he desired to be a Swede, and not a Frenchman, and that desiring above all things the prosperity of his new country he would never lend himself to the convenience of France, which might induce her to ruin Sweden by the deprivation of its trade. To those on the other hand, comprising all the friends of France, who had accomplished his election, in their passionate emulation of the revolution of 1789, their regrets for the old grandeur of Sweden, and the military reputation which led them to choose a French General, his talk was of honour, fatherland, valour, while, without explaining the manner in which it was to be done, he engaged to lead them to victory and to restore the greatness of their nation. Besides flattering all parties in the state on the topics most dear to them, he endeavoured to establish relations with the English and Russian legations, the latter of which was alone officially recognised at Stockholm, by taking care that each should have what might be most favourable to its interests. To both he asserted his readiness to break off the yoke of France, and obey the signal whenever the great powers should resolve on giving it, boasting that he knew the weak points in the genius and resources of Napoleon, and would impart the secret how to overthrow him. Even in the French armies General Bernadotte, he said, was highly prized, but would England and Russia but establish good intelligence with Sweden, there was no end to the advantage which it might prove to them; for, as soon as Napoleon should have advanced into the interior of Poland, where he might have been annihilated in 1807, and was in fact only saved by the intervention of Bernadotte, he the Crown Prince of Sweden, could come down with thirty thousand or even fifty thousand should he be subsidized, and

raise the whole of Germany in the rear of the French host. In return for his aid he demanded, not indeed Finland, of the importance of which to Russia he was well aware, but Norway which, he argued, it was unreasonable to leave to Denmark, the steadfast ally of Napoleon, and, therefore, traitor to the cause of Europe.

These confidences made with incredible indiscretion to England and Russia, had excited a kind of distrust, and gained their author but little esteem. When addressed to the King of Prussia in a secret interview demanded of his Ambassador they had disgusted the sense of honour in that Monarch, who had not dared to denounce this faithless child of France, but had not failed to warn us to beware of him. As for the powers which were either actually at war with us, as was England, or about to be, as Russia, they had behaved cautiously towards an enemy of Napoleon, whom they were willing to make use of whilst they hesitated to trust him. In order to enter into close relations with both of these powers, the new Swedish Prince had proposed to employ the influence long enjoyed by Sweden in Turkey to negotiate a peace between the Turks and the Russians; and thus this personage who had only so lately appeared on the world's stage, and was so unexpected an enemy to France, offered to reconcile England with Russia, and Russia with the Porte, and was anxious to be at any price the connecting link of these various political chains, the sword in the hands of these coalitions.

In the meantime, Alexander, the object of whose system of reserve was, as we have already said, to place his adversary completely in the wrong, and to remain free to accept a peace at the last moment, was by no means willing to yield to the impatience of the English, or to the intrigues of Sweden. He had made the very natural reflection that when the rupture with France should have once been accomplished, an alliance with England would be an immediate result, and be effected on such terms as he might choose. He refused, therefore, the vessels filled with gunpowder, forced them to depart from the waters of the Riga, and intimated to Mr. Thornton that the time had not yet come for his appearance at St. Petersburg. As regarded Sweden, since its alliance with Russia was less a matter of certainty, since this power might, in its ambitious restlessness, be alienated from Russia, by the rejection of its advances, as it had been alienated from Napoleon by a disappointment suffered at his hands, Alexander determined to listen with apparent attention to its incredible proposals, and to take that time for their consideration which their importance demanded. He sent magnificent

furs to Prince Bernadotte and heaped on him the most flattering testimonies of esteem. In the meantime Turkey, which had obstinately rejected the conditions which had been proposed to it, and which was unwilling at any price to abandon Moldavia as far as the Sereth, to consent to a Russian Protectorate over Wallachia and Servia, to the cession of a portion of territory however small along the Caucasus, or the payment of a war indemnity, it felt quite certain that within a few days Russia pressed by the armies of France would be compelled to resign all her pretensions, and Alexander, accordingly, modified still farther the proposed conditions, renouncing the protectorate of Servia and Wallachia, the territory which had been demanded along the Caucasus, and the war indemnity, but still insisting on the whole of Bessarabia, on Moldavia as far as the Sereth, and flattered himself that by obtaining peace on these new conditions, he would secure full liberty to employ his forces against the French army.

Such were the plans of Russia, and they were plans which as we cannot fail to perceive, were very well conceived and very well adapted to their object. In the situation to which matters had now come there could be no object attained by M. de Nesselrode's mission to Paris, and it was, therefore, abandoned to the great, but unwise, satisfaction of M. de Romanzoff. Alexander intimated this new resolution to M. de Lauriston with a grief which he did not dissemble, telling him that the courier which had left Paris on the 13th of January had brought tidings which allowed no hope that peace could yet be preserved, and that he was excessively grieved at this since peace had always been the object of his desire. He repeated, as he had already repeated a hundred times, the measures he had been willing to take and the sacrifices he was ready to submit to for the preservation of the French alliance, to prove what he called his *innocence*; but declared that no earthly power should drive him to any other terms; that he could sustain a war of ten years if necessary, and would retreat to the farthest part of Siberia rather than sink to the position then endured by Austria and Prussia; that Napoleon, in provoking this rupture, had acted in a manner very contrary to his own interests, for that England was already near the end of her resources, and that by continuing to keep the continent closed against her commerce, and turning against Lord Wellington the forces then prepared against Russia, Great Britain would be forced to a peace within a year; Alexander continued, that for his part, he would remain inccessible in the line which he had traced out, his troops would remain behind the Niemen, and would not be the

first to pass it; that he was anxious that his nation and the world should be witnesses that he was not the aggressor, and that he carried his scruples in this respect even to the extent of refusing to listen to one of the propositions of England, that he had refused the gunpowder they had offered him, and he declared on his word of honour that he would in like manner dismiss Mr. Thornton should he present himself. Finally, Alexander said that in this state of things the mission of M. de Nesselrode was no longer possible, that not only his dignity but his common sense rendered it impossible that he should now attempt to send it, since it could have no effectual result.

Upon M. de Lauriston's insisting that M. de Nesselrode would still be well received in Paris, Alexander related to him all that we have narrated respecting Napoleon's significant silence respecting the proposed mission, and his coldness towards Prince Kourakin from the time that this mission had been talked about, and concluded by declaring that it was known from other sources that Napoleon was averse to it; by these other sources Alexander meant Prussia, who, with the best intentions and believing that she might be of service towards the maintenance of peace had communicated Napoleon's reflections respecting the inconveniences of giving too much éclat to M. de Nesselrode's journey; and thus by its very zeal for peace had aided in bringing about its rupture.

During the course of the above conversation Alexander had appeared more moved than ever, but nevertheless thoroughly resolute, and had evidently spoken as a man who had no hesitation in expressing his aversion to war because he had determined to wage it, and with terrible energy. He left M. de Lauriston as affected as himself, for this excellent patriot regarded the approaching war with a species of despair, for he saw what must be its results. On the 3rd of January M. de Nesselrode transmitted to his court all accounts of the communications which had taken place between himself and Alexander with scrupulous exactness. His courier arrived at Paris on the 17th of February; and had been preceded by others who had carried almost precisely similar tidings, and had left little room for doubt that, as the last positively announced, M. de Nesselrode's mission would not set out from Russia.

Napoleon, by becoming sure that M. de Nesselrode would not come to Paris attained his object, but nevertheless, Russia appeared far too resolute, and although she was apparently too much intimidated to venture to take the initiative, he learned that there were not wanting bold spirits amongst her children who urged that her armies should cross

the Niemen and anticipate the French at Konigsberg and Dantzic. He considered, therefore, that it was time to conclude his alliances, and to set his troops in motion so that he might not be the last to arrive on the Vistula, and he took care to accompany these decisive steps with some acts of policy calculated to calm the sensation they would produce in the Russian cabinet by affording it certain hopes of peace.

Up to this time Napoleon had not wished to conclude his alliances from fear of too much alarming Russia, and he was excessively dilatory with regard to unhappy Prussia, which was in a constant state of fear that these long delays concealed some abominable scheme. It will be remembered that Napoleon had imperiously demanded of her that she should cease from preparing her armaments, threatening to seize Berlin, Spandau, Graudentz, Colberg, the King himself, the army, and all that remained of the monarchy of the great Frederick, if she did not put a stop to her preparations; and, on the other hand, giving his word of honour, that if she yielded to his wishes on this point he would conclude with her a treaty of alliance of which the first article should stipulate the integrity of her territory. Since the month of October he had held her in suspense under various pretexts, and at length, in the month of February, when matters had arrived at a point at which delay was no longer possible, Napoleon very much delighted the King and M. de Hardenberg by announcing to them that he was ready to sign the treaty of alliance. The King of Prussia, whom Russia had treated very harshly in 1805, and had completely deserted in 1807, considered himself under obligations only to his country and his crown, and being convinced, moreover, in common with all the world, that Napoleon would still be the victor declared himself his ally, since it was impossible to remain neutral. His policy at this moment was, as he had to furnish Napoleon with a contingent, to give him one which should be as strong as possible, in order that on the conclusion of peace his recompense might be the greater, consisting of the restitution of fortresses, the diminution of the war contributions, and an extension of territory. He offered, therefore, as many as a hundred thousand men, all good soldiers, commanded by the worthy General de Gramont, and ready to serve with good will as soon as they should see in the French alliance a means of obtaining the restoration of their country. As the price of this aid the King of Prussia demanded the restoration of one of the fortresses of the Oder which had remained in pledge in the hands of Napoleon (as Glogau for example), a release from the fifty or sixty millions which the Prussian

treasury still owed to France, and finally an extension of territory in proportion to the services that the Prussian army should render. Frederick William was also anxious that some territory, and his wishes pointed especially to Silesia, should be regarded as neutral, that he might retire into it far from the tumult of arms, for Berlin, situated on the route of all the armies in Europe, could not but be involved in the war.

It was Napoleon's policy neither to destroy nor to raise Prussia. It was sufficient for his purposes that she should be in subjection and disarmed, and he had not sufficient confidence in the Prussian soldiers to permit any great number of them to be armed. He did not precisely distrust either their valour or their loyalty, but he considered with good reason that on the occasion of any reverse being suffered by his arms they would be carried along with the current of the Germanic sentiment; he was unwilling, therefore, that Prussia should arm more soldiers than were permitted to her by the existing treaties (which number was forty-two thousand), and thereby engage in heavy expenses which would afford her a pretext for not fulfilling her pecuniary engagements towards France. Influenced by these various motives, therefore, he rejected the propositions made to him by Prussia, declaring that twenty thousand Prussians would be sufficient, since he did not so much require troops with which to combat the Russians as provisions and baggage horses, and that, consequently, he could not release the contributions due from Prussia, and could only consent to receive horses, cattle, and grain in part satisfaction of the money she still owed. He refused, also, to surrender Glogau, for this fortress, he said, was on his line of operations, and as for the neutralisation of Silesia he very reasonably remarked, that, although he was very willing to admit it, it could not be guaranteed without the consent of Russia also. As for the integrity of the existing Prussian dominions, and a revision, to her advantage, of her frontier line on the conclusion of peace, he could make ample promises without any difficulty.

Prussia could not dispute with Napoleon in the state into which she had fallen, and consequently, by a treaty signed on the 24th of February, it was agreed that Prussia should furnish twenty thousand troops under the immediate command of a Prussian General, but bound to obey the orders of the General of the corps of the French army with which they might serve; and these twenty thousand men whilst remaining in Prussia were to be distributed as follows: four thousand at Colberg, two thousand at Potsdam (to guard the

royal residence), and the remainder in Silesia. The war contribution still due from Prussia to France was definitively fixed at forty-eight millions, of which twenty-six millions were to be paid in mortgage bills, fourteen in kind, and eight in silver, these last to be paid at the conclusion of the existing war. For the fourteen millions payable in kind were to be furnished fifteen thousand horses, forty-four thousand cattle, and a considerable amount of wheat, oats, and forage. It was agreed also that these supplies in kind should be conveyed to the Vistula and the Oder.

On these conditions Napoleon guaranteed to Prussia the territory she then had, and in the event of obtaining a prosperous issue in the Russian war, promised an extension of frontier in recompense for its former losses; and this treaty could not fail to be approved of by all persons of sense, for being under no obligation to Russia, the King of Prussia was right to seek for safety where he could hope to find it. As for Napoleon, as it was too late to adopt the policy of re-establishing Prussia as a great and powerful kingdom which, holding everything from him would necessarily remain faithful to him, he chose the best course possible when he withdrew a portion of its soldiers, disarmed the others, and took its horses.

The position of affairs with regard to Austria was different; for Austria was under no fear of the loss of its very existence, and no need of the French alliance, and so far from being as Prussia was, in the power of four hundred Frenchmen, had Italy almost at her mercy from the moment that Prince Eugene departed from it. She had desired, therefore, to escape from the French alliance, to remain a spectator of the conflict, and to share with the victor some of the spoils of the vanquished. She believed that Napoleon would be the victor, and would rather, therefore, ally herself with him than with Alexander; but, for the greater safety, would have preferred to be the ally of neither. There were no means, however, of escaping from Napoleon's iron hand; it was necessary to declare either for or against him, and after all, his triumph being more probable than that of Alexander, by declaring for him Austria would probably regain Trieste, which of all its losses was the one which Austria felt most severely.

The court of Vienna consented therefore to form an alliance with France, but demanded that the greatest possible secrecy should be kept with regard to it, and that this secrecy should be observed as long as possible, for, said M. de Metternich, of all Austria only he and the Emperor were agreeable to this alliance, and if such a negotiation should be

rumoured too soon, an insurmountable opposition would very probably be excited. Moreover, it was urged, it would thus be possible to surprise Russia by the unexpected presence in Volhynia of a corps d'armée.

Napoleon consented to the stipulated secrecy, for it was sufficient for him that he could rely on Austria, and of but little importance when the alliance between them should become known; and he even shared in the desire to keep the treaty with Austria secret, in accordance with his constant wish to avoid as far as possible forcing the Russians into active war.

It was agreed, therefore, by a treaty signed on the 16th of March that France and Austria should reciprocally guarantee the integrity of their actual states; that for the present war Austria should furnish a corps of thirty thousand men, which should be ready at Lenberg on the 15th of May, provided that at that time the French army by its offensive movements should have drawn to it the Russian forces; that this corps, commanded by an Austrian General (the Prince of Schwarzenberg), should be under the direct orders of Napoleon; and that, finally, if the kingdom of Poland should be re-established, France, in recompense for the assistance afforded her by Austria, would grant her a compensation in Illyria, and that if the war should have a prosperous issue, would behave towards the Emperor Francis, with regard to the new division of territories, in conformity with the friendship which should unite a father-in-law and a son-in-law.

This treaty engaged Austria to furnish but a very feeble assistance to Napoleon, and left it possible for her to say at St. Petersburg that her alliance with him was only a matter of form, and entered into for the sole purpose of avoiding a war with France for which she, Austria, was not prepared. She could also add, if she chose, that in acting thus she had only acted towards Russia as Russia had acted towards herself in 1809.

Having concluded these treaties of alliance Napoleon directed his whole attention to setting his troops in motion. He had already directed the army of Italy to concentrate itself at the foot of the Alps, and Marshal Davoust to be always ready to throw himself upon the Vistula should the Russians, which was very improbable, be the first to pass the Niemen. All being now prepared, he ordered the first marches, but in such a manner that the Niemen should not be reached before the month of May. Let us glance at the manner in which he had distributed the various portions of his vast army, which was the largest which had been seen

since the ages of those victorious barbarians who had displaced whole populations, and was certainly the largest regular army which had ever existed, being the vastest collection ever known of strong, well disciplined soldiers, free from that mass of women, children, and servants, which formerly formed three fourths of the numbers of invading armies.

Although Napoleon had delegated to Marshal Davoust on account of his peculiar talents, the organisation of the greater portion of the army, he had not appointed him to the command of as many troops as he had entrusted to him to discipline, for he reserved to himself exclusively the disposition of the large masses. He desired only that Marshal Davoust, being the nearest to the theatre of war, and in the most favourable position for active proceedings should the Russians cross the Niemen, should have a force sufficient to stop them; and confided to him, therefore, five French divisions which had been formed out of the three old divisions, Morand, Friant, and Gudin, and had in each regiment from three to five war battalions. To these was to be added as a sixth division, a Polish division, which was already at Dantzic, but formed no part of the garrison, and was composed of good troops who had successfully made the campaign in 1809 against the Austrians. Napoleon had preserved the old distribution of his cavalry into light, employed in reconnaissances, and cavalry of reserve employed in attacks in line. The latter had a certain portion of light cavalry in its ranks but chiefly consisted of heavy and medium cavalry, that is to say, of cuirassiers, lancers, and dragoons. This reserve was divided into four corps; the first, comprising five regiments of light cavalry and the two divisions of cuirassiers, was added to the army of Marshal Davoust; who had, therefore, about eighty-two thousand infantry and artillery, three thousand five hundred light cavalry particularly attached to his corps, and eleven or twelve thousand cavalry of reserve; the whole amounting to ninety-six or ninety-seven thousand of the best troops in Europe. They bore the title of the first corps, and their head-quarters were at Hamburg.

Napoleon confided also to Marshal Davoust the Prussian division of sixteen or seventeen thousand men which was under the immediate orders of General Grawert, and the number of troops under the Marshal's command was thus raised to one hundred and fourteen thousand.

Napoleon gave to Marshal Oudinot the second corps, which comprised, together with the divisions stationed in Holland, the remainder of the troops organised by Marshal Davoust, but not placed under his command. These were the

two French divisions Legrand and Verdier, formed from part of the ancient divisions of Masséna and Lannes, and a good Swiss division to which had been added some Croatian and Dutch battalions. With the light cavalry, the artillery, and a division of cuirassiers borrowed from the cavalry reserve, this corps numbered forty thousand troops almost as good as those of Marshal Davoust. Its head quarters were at Munster. Three or four thousand of the Prussian troops, at this time guarding Pillau, the Nehrung, and all the posts which close the Frische-Haff, were also intended to form a portion of the second corps.

Under the title of third corps Napoleon entrusted to Marshal Ney, of whose energy he wished to avail himself in this campaign, the remainder of the old troops of Lannes and Masséna, adding to them the Wurtemberg troops, which had already served under Marshal Ney, and thus forming a total of thirty-nine thousand men, infantry, artillery, and light cavalry; and as he proposed to employ Ney in the execution of vigorous enterprises, he also placed under his command the whole 2nd corps of the reserve cavalry, numbering about ten thousand men, chiefly cuirassiers. Marshal Ney's head quarters were fixed at Mayence.

The army of Prince Eugene was called the 4th corps, and consisted of two divisions of French infantry, including the best troops of the old army of Italy, an Italian division which had become very excellent, and some of the Royal guard, amounting altogether to about forty-five thousand soldiers of all arms. This corps was under the command, of course, of Prince Eugene, who had Junot for his principal lieutenant.

Napoleon assigned to the Polish army the title of the 5th corps. As we have before said, a Polish division in the pay of France had already been placed under Marshal Davoust, but there still remained two other Polish divisions which received the Emperor's pay, and were to be incorporated with the French troops. The Polish army properly so called was under the orders of Prince Poniatowski, who was in the service of the grand Duchy of Warsaw, and had already made under its orders the campaign of 1809; a campaign which was as honourable for the troops engaged in it as for the General who conducted it. This corps numbered about thirty-six thousand men of all arms, and had its head quarters at Warsaw. The Bavarians, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, who had served with the French since 1805, formed the 6th corps, and were entrusted to General St. Cyr, whom Napoleon raised from disgrace on account of his merit, and notwithstanding an indocility of temper which was often

the cause of great inconvenience. It was arranged that these Bavarians were to join the army of Italy at Bareuth, in order to fight by its side; for Napoleon had resolved to unite the Bavarians with the Italians, on account not only of the relationship, but the friendship also which united Prince Eugene with the court of Bavaria.

The Saxons to the number of seventeen thousand, good soldiers, and of all the Germans the least hostile to France, because she had restored Poland to their King, were placed under the orders of General Reynier, a skilful officer, well fitted to have the command of the Germans, and distinguished for his services in Spain and elsewhere. These Germans were named the 7th corps, and were, naturally, to serve with the Poles. They were ordered to assemble at Glogau on the Oder, and to proceed as quickly as possible to Kalisch, in order to be ready to hasten to the Vistula should the Poles have need of their aid. Finally, the Westphalians, carefully organised by King Jerome, but reckoning amongst their ranks many Hessians, who were more brave than affectionate to their new sovereign, formed the 8th corps, and were directed to take up a position in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg to the number of eighteen thousand men.

There remained two excellent bodies of troops, the reserve cavalry and the imperial guard. Of the four corps composing the former one had been attached to Marshal Davoust's corps, the other to Marshal Ney's, and one division of cuirassiers had been, besides, temporarily given to Marshal Oudinot; but Napoleon reserved to himself the right of resuming at need the immediate command of these corps himself. The portion of this magnificent cavalry which had not as yet been attached to any corps consisted of about fifteen thousand splendid horsemen, and was to march in connection with the imperial guard. As for the latter, it had now become an army in itself, numbering no less than forty-seven thousand men, and had been divided into two corps, the young guard, comprising the tirailleurs and voltigeurs, and the old guard, and consisting of the chasseurs, and foot grenadiers, the cavalry, the artillery reserve, and the regiments of the Vistula, who were worthy by reason of their sentiments of serving in the ranks of the Imperial guard.

The first corps of the guard was under the orders of Marshal Mortier, the second under the old Marshal Lefebvre. Firmer Generals could not have been appointed to the command of more genuine soldiers. The guard had as yet no distinct rallying point, and departed clandestinely from Paris

and its environs, one regiment after the other, with two provisional destinations, Berlin and Dresden; the intention being that as soon as the Emperor proceeded to the army the whole guard should assemble around him. We must add to this long enumeration the great body of sappers and miners, pontonniers, and workmen of all sorts; the artillery, which comprised all that was necessary to the service of this arm; and finally, the baggage train, conducted by eighteen thousand men.

Such was the active army alone; the army which was to cross the Niemen, and penetrate into the interior of Russia. Without taking into account the sick, the detached troops, of which there a were considerable number, and the Austrians, who were far from the theatre of operations, this army presented an enormous force of 423,000 soldiers under arms, strong, and well disciplined; 300,000 being infantry, 70,000 cavalry, 30,000 artillery; and carrying with them a thousand pieces of cannon, six pontoon equipages, and a month's provisions. And if Napoleon's orders were executed they would soon have with them two months' provisions instead of one.

The imagination is confounded when it contemplates these enormous numbers, which are not fictitious and inclusive of a crowd of persons not bearing arms, as is the case with the descriptions of armies by historians ancient and modern, who have almost always taken their information from popular rumour, and seldom from state documents, and have never taken into account the deficiency arising from sickness, the absence of detachments, and desertion. Nor were these all the troops which Napoleon had prepared for this gigantic struggle, after which, as he rightly said, he must be the real master of the world, or the most completely vanquished of any warrior in the world's history. By no means disregarding the terrible resentments with which his route would be seamed, as it were, from the Rhine to the Niemen, he placed on his rear a powerful army of reserve, of which we will present to the reader an account of the strength, the various nationalities, and the distribution.

Employing with much tact all the officers who had done good service in Spain, but had quarrelled with those who directed the operations in that country, Napoleon had chosen Marshal Victor, Duke de Bellune, for the command of Berlin from the time that the expeditionary army should have passed this capital. He reserved a French division, the 12th, composed of two good light regiments and several fourth battalions, under General Partouneaux, the troops of Bergen and Baden, and a portion of the soldiers in the depôts

of Marshals Davoust and Oudinot appointed to the guard of the important fortification of Magdeburg. These troops, amounting altogether to thirty-eight or thirty-nine thousand men, formed the 9th corps, and were intended to guard Germany from the Elbe to the Oder.

There were still, in detached troops, in the fortifications such as Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, and Erfurt, ten thousand men; and in Hanover there was an immense cavalry depôt, where it was intended to mount nine thousand men who were to proceed thither from France on foot. Napoleon had decided that a portion of the fourth battalions drawn from Spain, and some sixth battalions belonging to the regiments intended to have six, should form a reserve corps entrusted to Marshal Augereau, and amounting to thirty-seven thousand men. Finally, he had had the precaution to send forward from fifteen to eighteen thousand recruits who were to supply the losses resulting from the first marches. There remained the division furnished by the little German Princes, amounting to five thousand men; and a division amounting to ten thousand with which Denmark, in consideration of our having incurred the enmity of Sweden in defence of its interests, had agreed to furnish us, in case Bernadotte should execute his project of making a descent on the rear of the French army. The latter division was to be assembled on the Holstein frontier.

By taking into account, in addition to the active army of 423,000 men, this army of reserve of 130,000, some detachments scattered amongst various little posts to the number of 12,000, the sick, the greater number of whom had been prostrated by the active service necessary in winter for the maintenance of the continental blockade, and who amounted to no less than 40,000, we find the enormous number of 600,000 men set in motion for the purposes of this formidable conflict.

Napoleon desired that the troops should remain in these positions during the month of May, that this month might be employed in bringing up the men and matériel which might have fallen into the rear, in throwing bridges over the various arms of the Vistula, in organizing the navigation of the Frische-Haff, in obtaining numerous waggons, horses, and oxen, from Prussia, furnishing the waggoners with stores, and mounting the cavalry which as yet wanted their horses; so that when the month of June had arrived, and the ground was covered with herbage, the troops might advance between Konigsberg and Grodno, and cross the Niemen on the 15th or 20th of June. Napoleon's first care was to draw from Spain, Italy, France, and Germany, this crowd of troops, and

to march them with such care and method that they should not be exhausted by fatigue, or cover the routes with sick and stragglers, and that, especially, the Russians should not be too much excited by their advance and provoked to invade Poland and old Prussia.

We have already mentioned Napoleon's plan of effecting his contemplated movements under cover of Marshal Davoust's corps which, being between the Elbe and the Oder, had but eight or ten marches to make to reach the Vistula, an imposing body of 150,000 men, and to check the Russians should there be need. On the 1st of April Napoleon intended to set his masses of troops in motion, to advance these under Marshal Davoust to the Vistula between Thorn and Marienberg, to unite the Saxons with the Poles around Warsaw, and to post Jerome's Westphalians at Posen; then, on the Oder, in a second line, to post Oudinot at Stettin, Ney at Frankfort, and Prince Eugene with the Italians and Bavarians at Glogau. The guard, with the engineer and artillery corps, and the sappers and miners, being intended to form a third line between Dresden and Berlin.

Napoleon had already dispatched, as we have seen, the necessary orders to the army of Italy, which had the greatest distance to traverse, to join the troops assembled in Germany. When the first movement of this army, appointed to take place at the end of February, should have been effected, Napoleon proposed to march Marshal Davoust's troops on the Oder, the Saxons to Kalisch, in order that they might the more speedily join the Poles, and at the same time to advance in a second line Oudinot upon Berlin, Jerome upon Glogau, Ney upon Erfurt, and at the end of March to order a halt in order that all the corps might have time to rally their stragglers, and to bring up their baggage. These various points having been attained a halt was to be made up to the 15th of April, when the second and third lines were to advance on the Vistula and establish themselves in the following order; the Prussians in advance between Elbing, Pillau and Konisgberg, the troops of Davoust in the rear, between Marienberg and Marienwerder, those of Marshal Oudinot at Dantzic, those of Ney at Thorn, those of Eugene at Plock, the Poles, Saxons, and Westphalians, at Warsaw, the guard at Posen.

The instructions given by Napoleon were in conformity with this plan. Prince Eugene received orders to traverse the Tyrol so as to reach Ratisbonne at the beginning of March; the Bavarian Generals being directed to meet Prince Eugene at that point at the same time; and Ney, Jerome, and Oudinot, to place themselves immediately in line with the

right, coming from Italy. When these various movements should have been masked Marshal Davoust was ordered to throw the division Friant towards Swedish Pomerania, for the purpose of punishing Sweden for her conduct, to push his other divisions upon the Oder from Stettin to Custrin, to occupy with the Prussians Pillau and the points which command the navigation of the Frische-Haff, to unite himself by means of his cavalry with the Poles on the side of Warsaw, and if, contrary to all probability, the Russians should take the offensive, to march directly against them and drive them back beyond the Niemen.

Everything being thus arranged Napoleon was anxious to add diplomatic precautions to those which he had already taken with regard to the movements of his troops, in order to prevent the Russians from too speedily commencing the contest. He had already avoided the mission of M. de Nesselrode, and lest his manner of doing this should have driven Alexander from his temporizing system, he now endeavoured to obviate this danger, and with this object sent a despatch to M. de Lauriston in which he gave him a detailed account of his military movements, declaring that their object was to save from the hands of the Russians the rich granaries of Poland and old Prussia, and that, for the purpose of preventing them from ravaging these countries, it was necessary when the movement of the army of Italy, which would be the first, should be known, that M. de Lauriston should positively deny it, whilst admitting the march of a few Tuscan and Piedmontese conscripts, sent beyond the Alps to rejoin their corps in Germany, and that when it should be impossible any longer to deny it, he should admit the concentration of the French army on the Oder, but declare at the same time that this concentration did not necessarily imply war, any more than the concentration of the Russians on the Dwina and the Dnieper; and that even if the French army advanced a little beyond the Oder, it would only be taking a position precisely equivalent to that taken by the Russian armies, and whilst Napoleon was always rather ready to negotiate than to fight, he wished to take an attitude suitable to his dignity.

In this despatch M. de Lauriston was directed to put forward the idea of an armed negotiation rather than of a war already resolved on, to re-demand even, if the Russians still desired it, the mission of M. de Nesselrode, and in the last extremity, but only then, to offer a personal interview between the two Emperors on the Vistula. Finally, to prevent premature hostilities, M. de Lauriston was authorised to engage that the French armies should pause on the bank of the Vistula, but to do this only with the appearance of a

negotiator so anxious for peace that he exceeded his instructions; and should all these ruses fail of their intended effect, M. de Lauriston was then to declare immediate war, demand his passports, and to compel the representatives of the allied courts to demand theirs.

So anxious was Napoleon to prevent a premature commencement of hostilities that he had recourse to a more direct means to the attainment of his object. He had with him at this time M. de Czernicheff, employed in frequent missions from Saint Petersburg to Paris, having numerous relations with the French court, and endowed with powers of fascination which he had made use of to corrupt one of the principal clerks of the minister of war. This fact began to be suspected, but it was not the moment to take public notice of this discovery. Napoleon devised the plan, therefore, to send M. de Czernicheff to Alexander with an earnest declaration of his pacific intentions, that he desired only the fulfilment of the conditions of Tilsit, and that he was perfectly ready to substitute a negotiation for war.

Napoleon's pretext for taking this step was a sufficiently natural one. In the course of their long conversations with M. de Lauriston, the Emperor Alexander and M. de Romanzoff had declared their opinion that Napoleon's desire to effect the reconstitution of the kingdom of Poland was evidently the real object he cherished in his heart, and the cause of his refusal to sign the convention of 1810. M. de Lauriston in his recent despatches had reported this conjecture of Alexander and his minister, and it was sufficient to furnish Napoleon with the pretext he desired.

In a long interview with M. de Czernicheff, he declared that by his last despatches from St. Petersburg he found that very false ideas were held with respect to his projects, since it was there supposed that he intended to reconstitute the kingdom of Poland, and that his military preparations had been made with this object. He assured M. de Czernicheff that this was a complete error, that he had never contemplated such an enterprise, and that if he had he would have attempted it in 1807 and 1809; that his refusal in 1810 of the convention by which Alexander demanded that he should engage never to re-establish the kingdom of Poland was because the form of the engagement required of him was dishonourable, and not because he entertained any idea of doing anything contrary to its spirit; that his sole reason for arming was because he believed that Russia was withdrawing from her alliance with France for the purpose of making one with England; that if this were her intention it was necessary that she should prepare for war, but that if, on the

contrary, she were willing to avoid serious hostilities with France she must close her ports against England, and aid him, Napoleon, in reducing her to submission by the destruction of her commerce.

Napoleon took great pains to produce on M. de Czernicheff's mind the impression that war was not inevitable, and would have succeeded in persuading him of this, had not the latter received only a few hours previously from the war office certain proofs of the activity of preparations so vast and so energetically carried forward, that it was impossible to reconcile them with the idea of a simple military demonstration destined to support negotiations. Nevertheless, M. de Czernicheff felt less certain of the imminence of the war after this interview, and received a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander, in which, in polished and amicable but somewhat haughty words, he requested the latter to receive as from himself the communications he had made to him through M. de Czernicheff, and repeated, that however advanced the preparations for war might be on either side, they might yet receive a peaceable termination. On the same day M. de Bassano addressed a fresh despatch to M. de Lauriston, which completely developed Napoleon's desire of gaining time, so as to be able to take the initiative at the commencement of the war; and declared Napoleon to be as little desirous of an interview with Alexander, as of any negotiation save that which might be conducted by the 450,000 men whom he had set in motion, and whose march would probably induce the Russian cabinet to return to the system established at Tilsit, and would *replace Russia in the state of inferiority in which she then was.*

In the meantime murmurs began to arise, such as had not for a long time been heard in Paris, and revealed the depth of the sufferings caused by the dearth, the conscription, the levy of the national guards, and, finally, the war, by which all these evils were either produced or aggravated.

A frightful drought, which had lasted during the whole of the summer of 1811, had ruined the cereals throughout the whole of Europe, while it produced excellent wines, known by the name of *vins de la comète.* In France the price of wheat had risen to fifty, sixty, and seventy francs the hectolitre, a price very much higher than that which would be represented by the same figures in these days. The people could no longer purchase it, and in many parts of the country were guilty of turbulence which had the effect of increasing the value of provisions by causing them to be concealed.

Napoleon, formerly hostile to the revolutionary doctrines (and by this expression we understand not the pure and noble

principles of 89, but the senseless opinions born of the madness of popular passion), Napoleon, we say, formerly hostile to these doctrines, had gradually adopted them, in accordance with his usual habit of permitting himself to be carried in everything beyond the bounds of reason. Opposed to the regicide, he had yet in a moment of anger shot the Duc d'Enghien; a bitter censor of the civil constitution of the clergy, he yet held the Pope a prisoner at Savoy; thoroughly disapproving of the violence of the directory, he had nevertheless at this moment his prisons full of persons detained solely on religious grounds; despising, as he did, the revolutionary policy which had excited war throughout Europe, he was now at war with Europe for the purpose of placing his brothers on most of the thrones of the west; and finally, after having overwhelmed with sarcasms the administrative principles of 1793, such as the maximum, and the commercial rigours with respect to America, he had by his legislation with respect to colonial produce created throughout all Europe a system of commerce the most strange and violent that could be conceived, and which his war against English commerce to a certain degree excused. But with regard to cereals, in his eagerness to quiet the popular murmurs, and to free his policy from all connexion with the dearness of provisions, and to please, in short, the masses, on whom he had laid so many heavy burdens, he devised doctrines unworthy of his fine mind, determining, in spite of the opposition of the arch chancellor Cambacérès, to have the price of bread regulated at the will of local administrations.

The formation of the cohorts of the national guard was another cause of suffering and murmurs. It is scarcely credible, but nevertheless true, that Napoleon, who was so confident in his power as to provoke unnecessarily a fresh conflict with Europe, was nevertheless oppressed with a vague but constant presentiment of some great danger.

Under the influence of this feeling Napoleon considered that the reserves already existing between the Rhine and the Elbe, and in the interior of the empire were insufficient, and desired, therefore, to raise one hundred and twenty thousand men under the title of the National Guard.

Thus the last measure, the expediency of which, though not understood, was unhappily but too certain, and proved to what danger Napoleon had exposed his own and our existence, had induced a general discontent at Metz, Lille, Rennes, Toulouse, and several other chief cities of the empire. Actual riots broke out in almost every town. Even in Paris, the schoolboys, so commonly alive to warlike sentiments, now gave expression to the pacific dispositions of the

nation with all the energy proper to their age, giving vent to seditious cries against the recent levies in the public thoroughfares, and pursuing with violence the agents of the police, on whom they bestowed the detested sobriquet of *mouchards* (spies).

An additional affliction was the re-establishment in the departments of non-stationary regiments for the purpose of enforcing the rules of the conscription. The number of refractory conscripts lowered the year preceding from 60,000 to 20,000 had since risen in consequence of numerous appeals made during the latter period, to 40 or 50,000. It was Napoleon's purpose again to diminish the list, taking from it one twentieth of a thousand to recruit the ranks of the regiments of the islands. New vexation, new murmurs, new causes of irritation could not fail to be the result. The soldiers of the non-stationary corps took up their quarters, as has already been stated, in the families of the refractory recruits, compelling them to furnish lodging, food, and a tax of several francs a day, so that they were often reduced to extreme misery. There were departments where as much as sixty, eighty, or even a hundred francs had been thus extorted, and from the poorest households. Some prefects had protested, but most kept silence, and executed the law at all risks. If in France, where glory at least recompensed for such sufferings, they were resented with lively indignation, a baneful effect was their necessary consequence throughout the newly-incorporated lands, which could only view in them a means for the perpetuation of their slavery. At the Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, risings attended the conscription. In east Friesland the prefect who personally superintended the business of the levy was assaulted and put to flight. Prince Lebrun, governor of Holland, for interceding in behalf of the delinquents was exposed to a rude reprimand for his weakness. It was Napoleon's wish that some unfortunates might be slaughtered with éclat to serve as an example to those who should essay emulating them; a sad lesson, whence they learned by counterfeiting submission for the moment, to keep themselves ready for the attack when we should have all Europe on our hands.

In the Hanse Towns departments the aversion to the levies for the land and sea services was still stronger. Holland might find some advantage in its re-incorporation with the Empire. But there was no convenience to the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubec, naturally the ports of Germany, in their forming part of France to which their interests were as alien as their sentiments. They were frightened, but not reduced, by the death of a needy captain who had con-

veyed some travellers to Heligoland. The city of Hamburg was placarded by night with satirical papers which the police had the greatest difficulty in tearing off. The population was unanimous in seconding, as has been related, deserters from our service. Not only Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, but even Frenchmen, treating them as friends from the time they left their ranks. They were sheltered by day, conveyed on their journey by night, transported in boats over rivers, and fed for nothing on their way home.

A partial mutiny arose in the ranks of the Hanse Towns' regiments composed of veteran soldiers in the service of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubec, officered in part by Frenchmen. Some companies employed to guard the remote coasts of the Baltic offered violence to their officers who remained loyal, and seizing some fishing smacks took refuge in Heligoland. It was found necessary to send the most disaffected of these three regiments, the 129th, inland, and surround it with troops of reliable fidelity, under the command of Marshal Davoust. The reports on the temper of the Dutch and Westphalian contingents were unsatisfactory, notwithstanding the unceasing care bestowed on the latter by King Jerome. An insurrection broke out at Brunswick, a populous city, from regret for its exiled duke, and several of our soldiers suffered severely. Jerome's intervention, for the purpose of softening measures against the guilty, was replied to by an order of the day issued by Napoleon, which intrusted the trial of every crime, perpetrated against the French army, to a camp-tribunal of none but French officers.

The state of public feeling was no better in the south than in the north of the empire. The refusal of all political liberty, and well nigh all national independence, a yoke less hated, certainly, than that of Austria, but with its own article of rigour, the conscription, incessant war, the deprivation of all commerce, and the contest with the church, at length embittered against France the Italians who had originally welcomed her with the greatest eagerness. It was true that Lombardy under the mild, regular, but equitable government of Prince Eugene, contrasted as it was with the harsh rule of the House of Austria, remained tranquil. True, too, that the sentiments of Piedmont (Genoa excepted, which sighed for the opening of the sea) were growing into accordance with those of France, and that there was a little more sympathy in that people for a warlike policy; but in Tuscany, with its aversion for war, its unbroken reminiscences of a native government, gentle, wise, and philosophical, of its claims as a birth-place of the sovereignty of intellect over southern Italy, and of the decided influence of the clergy; in Rome, where the populace

was inconsolable for the crushed Papacy, where the antipathy to the domination of Ultra-montanes was as vigorous as in Calabria, hatred was scarce dissembled, so that there, as in the rest of the Empire, one reverse could produce the burst of a general rising. To bring such about the presence of the smallest band of Englishmen would have been enough.

Such sentiments diffused over so many different countries were doubtless not reflected by the mirror of daily publicity, which by exaggerating the object forces those to survey it who would willingly blind themselves to its presence. Every one experienced the truth of the tales in his own person, but men's hatred was confirmed and their rage insensibly increased by the information conveyed in the assent of traders and travellers, that in this and that province the self-same outrages were endured. Napoleon had certainly a mind far too comprehensive not to discern this state of things; but so far was he from concluding that he should refrain from aggravating the peril by a new war, so far from reasoning as on his return from the campaign of Wagram, when he for a moment bent his thoughts to the pacification of Europe by the restoration of peace, that he inferred from all this the necessity of instant war with Russia, in hope of crushing at once in 1812 as in 1809 the discontents ready to burst forth into action.

In the meantime he could not fail to observe the general fear which was entertained of the approaching war, and he was irritated at the objections which were not addressed to him but which he divined, because he had been compelled to address them to himself, and he frequently answered these objections in conversation with persons who had not even thought of them, or who, if they had even thought of them, would not have dared to express them. The Archchancellor Cambácérès was the only man who ventured to attempt to dissuade his master from the impending enterprises, and to him Napoleon declared, as he had declared to all the world, that a conclusive struggle with Russia was absolutely necessary, and that as it was necessary the sooner it took place the better. With regard to the war itself Napoleon by no means underrated its gravity, and whilst he admitted that it would probably be of longer duration than those he had hitherto waged, declared that he had made suitable preparations for conducting it with safety.

After having insisted upon the difficulties of the war, Prince Cambacérès spoke of the general disposition of Germany, of the little reliance that could be placed on the good faith of the little German Princes, or of Austria, or on the ability of the King of Prussia to keep his engagements.

Napoleon, however, treated all those fears as chimerical, and declared that, even if well founded, they would all be guarded against by a powerful army encamped on the Elbe.

Napoleon now hastened to make such arrangements as would enable him to quit Paris at the first movement made by Russia. With the exception of the waggons which were somewhat behind hand, everything proceeded as well as he could wish, and he was able to reckon that before May, or June at the farthest, every preparation for his formidable struggle would have been completed. His finances were, at least for the moment, in a state to meet his immense expenses. His budget, which used to be systematically confined to seven hundred and forty or seven hundred and seventy millions, had suddenly risen to nine hundred and fifty millions; an augmentation partly due to the annexation of the Roman States, Illyria, Holland, and the Hanseatic departments. Holland however cost more than she brought on account of her debt, which absorbed thirty-one millions out of fifty-five millions of receipts.

In addition to this augmentation of a hundred millions, sixty millions had been added to the revenue by the famous tariff of the month of August, which permitted importation of colonial produce at a duty of fifty per cent. But although the budget reckoned thus a hundred millions more of receipts there still remained a deficit. The personnel and matériel of war which in 1810 had absorbed, the first two hundred and fifty millions, the second one hundred and fifty millions, altogether four hundred millions, had required about four hundred and eighty millions in 1811, and would soon need more than five hundred; whilst the navy, which had formerly cost one hundred and forty millions, had cost one hundred and seventy millions since the annexation of the navies of Holland and the Hanse Towns. And thus the new resources which had been obtained by the annexation had not only been absorbed by the expenses of military administration, but this annexation had even been a source of increased expense. But on the other hand the government sales of contraband goods, and confiscated property of the great Spanish families, had produced great receipts. The products of these various sources of revenue amounted to one hundred and fifty millions; of which sum Napoleon devoted ninety millions to the arrears due on account of former budgets, and there then remained at his disposal sixty millions, an addition to his *domaine extraordinaire* which, after deducting all dotations and sums expended on public works, still amounted to about three hundred and forty mil-

lions; but as a portion of this sum had been lent to the Treasury, and a still larger portion was due from Westphalia, Saxony, Bavaria, Prussia, and Austria, only one hundred and twenty-three millions of it were immediately available; and this sum, in addition to the sixty millions before mentioned, formed a reserve fund of one hundred and eighty millions. With such a reserve, therefore, and a budget which could afford to allow five hundred millions to the military service and one hundred and seventy to that of the navy, Napoleon believed that he was provided with funds sufficient for the regular payment of a force which amounted, without taking into account the national guards, to twelve hundred thousand men, of whom nine hundred thousand were French. We must remember, however, that the three hundred thousand troops in the Peninsula only cost the French treasury forty millions, the remainder of the expense attending their maintenance being defrayed by Spain; and that this was also the case with a certain number of troops in Illyria and Germany.

Amongst the most important of the affairs which Napoleon was anxious to arrange before the commencement of the war with Russia, was the compact he was ready to enter into with America against England. In spite of the success of Lord Wellington in Spain, the domestic affairs of England had latterly fallen into a still more disastrous state; her merchants and manufacturers were almost entirely ruined; her labouring classes were without work and without food; and the British cabinet was aggravating these evils by its extravagant conduct with respect to America, which was now almost the only great country which remained accessible to British commerce, and towards which, so far from treating it with caution and consideration, it behaved as Napoleon had behaved towards the states of the continent; its famous orders in council, which Napoleon had met with the no less famous decrees of Berlin and Milan, being the cause of a quarrel which was on the point of breaking out into open war.

America, as we have already seen, at first replied to these orders and decrees by interdicting, by the law of *embargo*, her vessels from touching at the European ports, and subsequently limited this prohibition to the coasts of France and England, at the same time declaring that it would be withdrawn with respect to that one of the two powers which should renounce its own rigorous system. Napoleon had, accordingly, withdrawn his decrees of Berlin and Milan as regarded America, which country had in return repealed the law of embargo with respect to France whilst she maintained

it with respect to England; and it was on this subject that she was now engaged in a quarrel with the latter country.

England would have gained more than France by imitating Napoleon's conduct with respect to America; but the spirit of maritime supremacy permitted her only to modify, very slightly, her orders in council instead of repealing them entirely. She had ceased to demand that American vessels should resort to the banks of the Thames for the purpose of paying her tribute, but declared the ports of the French Empire blockaded from the mouths of the Ems to the frontiers of Portugal, from Toulon to Orbitello, which was, in fact, a paper blockade; America declared that the rights of neutrals were entirely opposed to this fictitious blockade, and that she would maintain her law of *non-intercourse* with respect to England although she had repealed it with respect to France; and a last outrage committed by England rendered war between the two countries imminent. Under the pretext that many of her sailors, to avoid serving in her navy had emigrated to America, she boarded American vessels and seized all the sailors speaking English; and, of course, as the two nations speak the same language she thus seized almost as many Americans as English subjects. The vessels of the former country frequently resisted this treatment, and thus the exasperation between the two countries reached its height, and war between them was regarded as inevitable.

In the meantime the English opposition had numerous and just causes of dissatisfaction with the cabinet; and although the opposition doubtless exaggerated, as is usually the case, the errors of the government, it would but have expressed the truth had it declared, that it was to England's interest that commerce should be entirely free whilst it was to the advantage of Napoleon that it should be checked, and that by its unreasonable conduct in persisting in maintaining its orders in council it was preparing for its country the most calamitous of privations, in the loss of relations with America, and a war which could not but be infinitely dangerous should Napoleon obtain a new triumph in the plains of the north.

The grave question of Irish emancipation was another cause of violent division between the various English parties. Ireland was at this time in a worse state than any other part of the British dominions, and required the presence of troops which could have been much more usefully employed in Portugal. The opposition, inflexible on this point, maintained with passion that the only means of appeasing Ireland and setting free the troops by which it was held in check was to grant it an equality of rights with the other portions of

the United Kingdom. In the meantime the situation of parties in the English House of Commons was such that a single check experienced by the English armies, would have overthrown the war policy; and in spite of the advantages obtained by the enemy in Spain, and the reverses sustained by our troops, Napoleon might still, by leading his forces in this direction, instead of throwing them into the abyss of the north, have turned the policy of England towards peace.

Although Napoleon failed to see this state of things in its true light, he comprehended that, as the English were alienating the Americans by every species of vexatious conduct, it was necessary to draw them into his interest, by an entirely opposite mode of treatment. The great difficulty was, how to be able to grant the commercial favours required by America without at the same time relaxing the continental blockade. Nevertheless, having to a certain extent relaxed with respect to them the restrictions of which the Americans complained, and despatched M. Serurier to Philadelphia to promise them the most free admission into France should they definitively break with England, he flattered himself, and the event proved that he was right, that in less than a month he would have formed an alliance with America against England.

Napoleon's diplomatic efforts with regard to the approaching war were not confined to this direction. Although excessively irritated against Sweden, he nevertheless, as the crisis of affairs approached, listened to certain hints which probably came from Stockholm, through Bernadotte's wife, the sister of the Queen of Spain, who was much distressed at the idea of a rupture between France and Spain, and, up to this moment, had been unwilling to quit Paris. These hints were to the effect that the existing misunderstanding had been caused by M. Alquier's want of address, that the Prince Royal was only anxious for an honourable opportunity for entering into an alliance with France, that his connivance in the contraband traffic was only caused by the bad state of the Swedish finances, which this traffic increased; and that if France would subsidize Sweden, she would close her ports against the English, and provide her with an army to be used against Russia. Napoleon very much doubted the sincerity of these offers, but as it was quite possible that Bernadotte whose advances had been very coldly received, as was known at Paris, by England and Russia, might be really returning to his allegiance to France, it was necessary that such an ally should not be altogether rejected; for the march of a Swedish army upon Finland, whilst a French army should advance upon Lithuania would be a very use-

ful diversion; and an agent, named by the Princess Royal, was accordingly authorised to convey to Stockholm the views and requirements of the French court.

In the meantime the month of March was drawing to a conclusion, and everything was succeeding according to Napoleon's wishes. One of Davoust's divisions, that of General Friant, had entered Swedish Pomerania, and after having put a stop to what remained of the contraband traffic, had advanced to Stettin on the Oder. The division Gudin had advanced farther and taken up a position at Stargard, having in front of it the cavalry of General Bruyère on the Dantzic route. Dessaix's division was posted at Custrin on the Oder, having its light cavalry at Landsberg in the direction of Thorn; whilst Marshal Davoust himself, with the divisions Morand and Compans, and the cuirassiers attached to his corps, had approached the Oder and was ready to cross it at the first signal. Marshal Oudinot's troops, after having assembled at Munster, had échelonedon the Berlin route; and Marshal Ney had advanced from Mayence to Erfurt, and from Erfurt to Targan on the Elbe. The Saxons had passed the Oder; the Viceroy of Italy, after having crossed the Alps with his army had traversed Bavaria, rallied the Bavarian troops, and advanced almost as far as the Oder. During these various movements the officers had kept their troops, in conformity with the orders they had received, under as strict discipline as was possible, but, unfortunately, excesses very much to be regretted, were committed by the corps of Marshal Ney and Prince Eugene, which recompensed themselves for some privations they had had to endure at the expense of the countries traversed.

Up to this period no rumour had announced that this vast display of force had provoked the Russians to take the initiative; and consequently Napoleon, in conformity with his plan, ordered a fresh movement to be made by his troops at the commencement of April, from the Oder to the Vistula, intending to halt them on the latter river, that the columns might be rallied, the baggage brought up, and the vegetation sufficiently advanced to provide for the cattle during their progress. At the same time in order that hostilities might be delayed until this required advance in vegetation had taken place, he sent another despatch to M. de Lauriston, informing him of this second movement made by the troops, and dictating to him the language he was to hold on the occasion. By this despatch M. de Lauriston was ordered to say, that the Emperor of the French having been informed of the march of the Russian armies towards the Dwina and the Dnieper (which was entirely untrue), he had determined

to take up a position on the Vistula, since he feared an invasion of the grand duchy, but that he was always ready to treat with the Emperor Alexander, or even to hold a personal interview with him between the Vistula and the Niemen, in order that all differences might be settled in an amicable conference such as that of Tilsit or Erfurt.

In the meantime, the greatest resentment at these proceedings was felt at St. Petersburg, and the presence of M. de Czernicheff, who had arrived there on the 10th of March with an amicable letter from Napoleon, but with personal impressions of an entirely opposite character, had not tended to diminish the effect of the news which arrived from every part of the continent. The news of the two treaties entered into by Napoleon with Prussia and Austria, especially revealed to the Emperor Alexander and his minister, M. de Romanzoff, the imminence of the approaching danger; for as Alexander knew that Napoleon had delayed entering into the former treaty from the fear of giving too much umbrage to Russia, he could only conclude from its having been now signed that Napoleon had determined upon decided action, and no longer cared for dissimulation. Prussia had sent M. de Knesebeck to St. Petersburg to explain to the Emperor Alexander the sad necessity she found herself under of taking part with France in the war against Russia; and M. de Knesebeck, either authorised by the King or carried along by national feeling, had permitted himself to declare that the King of Prussia was in his heart devoted to Russia, and that there could be no doubt he should be speedily able to ally himself with Alexander, should the latter pursue a wise course of conduct; and with respect to this latter point M. de Knesebeck gave the wise advice, which was so injurious to us, that the Russian forces should retreat before the French, enticing them into the interior of Russia, and then attack them when they should be exhausted by hunger and fatigue; promising that should this plan be adopted the whole of Germany would ally itself with Russia, in order to effect the downfall of the audacious invader who during twelve years had devastated Europe.

Alexander received with haughty indulgence the explanations of Frederick William, whilst he was sedulously attentive to the wise councils of his envoy. He was less indulgent, however, towards the Austrian Ambassador, M. de Saint Julien, who denied the existence of the treaty between his country and Napoleon, and did so in good faith, since his court, that it might the more surely deceive Alexander, had left him in ignorance on the subject. At length in one of his interviews with M. de Saint Julien, when

the Austrian minister was endeavouring as usual to call in doubt the very existence of a treaty between his country and Napoleon, Alexander produced a copy of the treaty itself, at the same time expressing his extreme astonishment at this conduct on the part of Austria, which he regarded as an abandonment of the cause of Europe, and declaring that, as he could not defend Europe alone, he would follow the general example and treat with Napoleon, since the remoteness of his country would always enable him to maintain his independence, whilst those who had abandoned him would remain slaves. M. de Saint Julien, who was a member of the vast aristocratic coterie which overspread the continent, and was inspired with a feeling of profound hatred against France, was too surprised and confused to offer any excuse save the allegation of his ignorance on the subject, and could only promise that in a few days he would be able to offer satisfactory explanations respecting it.

Although Alexander could now no longer doubt that war was inevitable, he was resolved to abstain from destroying any last chance of peace which might yet remain by taking the initiative, and scrupulously to refrain even from touching with his advanced posts the territories of Napoleon's allies. He further resolved even to await, before quitting St. Petersburg, some act more formally aggressive than the march of the French troops upon the Vistula, and in the meantime held last interviews with M. de Lauriston, in the course of which he shed tears as he spoke of the impending war, and Napoleon's injustice in attempting to renounce all commerce with neutrals. M. de Lauriston was excessively urgent that, even if M. de Nesselrode were not sent, some one should be sent with a reply to the communications and letter sent by Napoleon through M. de Czernicheff, and although Alexander declared such a step was evidently useless, he nevertheless wrote a letter to Napoleon in answer to the one carried to St. Petersburg by M. de Czernicheff, in which he declared that he had at all times been anxious to bring his disputes with Napoleon to an amicable termination, and that the world would one day acknowledge what he had done towards this end; that he had sent to Prince Kourakin powers to negotiate, and that this Ambassador had always been in possession of them, and that he was ardently desirous that on the new bases thus set forth a pacific arrangement might be attained. M. de Serdobin was the bearer of these last conditions, and by them Alexander declared himself ready to accept any compensation for Oldenburg that might be offered him; to make such changes in the ukase of December 1810, of which French industry complained, as might be compatible with

the interests of Russia; and to examine even if Napoleon's own commercial system could not be adopted in Russia—on condition that the absolute exclusion of neutrals, especially Americans, should not be demanded, and that the French troops should evacuate old Prussia, the Duchy of Warsaw and Swedish Pomerania.

The Russian court had refrained as yet from entering into any engagement with England, in conformity with her plan of avoiding any step which might render war inevitable. Indirect communications, however, had been opened in the Swedish court which prepared the way for the immediate formation of an alliance between the two countries as soon as circumstances should have rendered reserve unnecessary; and this moment having arrived, or nearly arrived, when Napoleon had not hesitated to conclude his alliance with Prussia and Austria, Alexander sent M. de Suchtelen to confer with Mr. Thornton, the agent sent thither, by the English government, not only respecting the conditions of peace with England, but also of an alliance, offensive and defensive, with a view to the maintenance of war à outrance with France.

In the meantime, as Bernadotte became urgent for an answer to his proposition to the Russian court, and as, although it distrusted very much the character of the new Prince Royal, his true relations with France were shown by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania by the troops of Marshal Davoust, on the 5th of April (the 24th of March with the Russians), Alexander concluded a treaty with the court of Stockholm, which conceded to it the object of its most ardent wishes, namely, Norway, and guaranteed to the two states their actual possessions, which was, in fact, a surrender by Sweden of the possession of Finland to Russia. For the realisation of the views set forth in this treaty it was agreed that Sweden should assemble an army of thirty thousand men and that Russia should lend her one of twenty thousand; that with these fifty thousand men the Prince Royal was first to seize Norway, and that when this operation, which it was supposed would be an easy one, should have been accomplished, he should descend upon some point in Germany and take the French army in the rear. It was not expressed, but it was understood that Britain was to assist in this diversion with both subsidies and troops. In the meantime Denmark was to be informed of the manner in which she was to be despoiled, and offered a recompense in Germany, not distinctly pointed out, but such as the future war could not fail to procure for her; if Denmark did not consent to these terms war was immediately to be declared against

her; and that as there could not but be considerable doubt respecting the manner in which such a treaty would be regarded, not only by Europe but even by Sweden herself, it was agreed that the Swedish cabinet should commence by declaring her neutrality with regard to the belligerent powers, and from this state of neutrality should pass to a state of war against France.

The most important question which Alexander had to consider was that respecting peace with the Turks. The certainty of war between France and Russia had induced the Turks to resist any concessions to Russia, whilst they persisted in refusing to become our allies, for they could not forget their resentment at the manner in which they had been treated at Tilsit, although the new course of policy adopted by France had been of a kind to recompense them. In the meantime, as nothing could be more disadvantageous to Russia than the continuance of war with Turkey, and as it was very probable that a hundred thousand men withdrawn from the Danube on the Vistula, and carried against the flank of the French, would be sufficient to change the destiny of the war, Alexander determined to send Admiral Tchitchakoff on a mission to the East; and giving him the immediate command of the army of the Danube, and the eventual command of the army of General Tormosoff, actually in Volhynia, directed him to make either peace or war, resigning a few of the demands hitherto made by Russia, demanding, for example, Bessarabia alone, and taking the Pruth as a frontier instead of the Sereth; and should they not yield to these conditions to snatch from them by energetic warfare what they refused to peaceful negotiation.

In the meantime the news which continued to arrive increased the anxiety felt at St. Petersburg to the highest pitch, when there suddenly arrived an employé of the Russian legation sent by Prince Kourakin with the information that one of the servants of the Russian embassy had been arrested in Paris on a charge of tampering with the persons employed in the French government offices, and had been refused to Prince Kourakin, who had demanded his surrender in the name of diplomatic privileges. But a still graver piece of information brought by M. Divoff was to the effect that he had fallen in with the troops of Marshal Davoust beyond the Elbing. All parties in St. Petersburg declared that Alexander could no longer delay to repair to his head quarters. Alexander had not time to see M. de Lauriston before his departure, but he sent his assurances of his esteem, and declarations that he, Alexander, did not quit his capital to commence the war, but, if possible, to delay it, affirming

once more that he would be ready at his head quarters to negotiate a peace on the most equitable and moderate bases.

On the 21st of April, having first performed his devotions in public in the church of Cazan, Alexander set out on his road accompanied by the chief persons of his government and his court, and proceeded towards Wilna. At the moment of his departure he received a satisfactory communication from Austria, declaring that if Russia would take no proceedings against her territory, she need fear nothing from the 30,000 Austrian troops. In the meantime M. de Lauriston awaited at St. Petersburg orders from his court for his departure, for he did not wish, by demanding his passports, to add a new war signal to all those which had already been given in spite of all his exertions to the contrary.

Napoleon awaited the moment when Alexander should quit St. Petersburg, to depart from Paris, and in anticipation of this moment had ordered a third movement of his troops, by which they would be advanced upon the Vistula, where he intended that they should pass the month of May. He ordered Marshal Davoust to concentrate his troops between Marienwerder, Marienberg, and Elbing, the Prussians being always in advance as far as the Niemen; Marshal Oudinot to take up a position at Dantzic, so far as to form the left of Marshal Davoust's position; Ney to establish himself at Thorn, so as to form the right; whilst Prince Eugene was to advance to Plock on the Vistula with the Bavarians and Italians, King Jerome to assemble at Warsaw the Poles, Saxons, and Westphalians, the guard to take up a position at Posen, and the Austrians to debouch from Gallicia to Valencia. In this new position the army would occupy the line of the Vistula from Bohemia to the Baltic, and present a formidable mass of five hundred thousand men, without taking into account the reserves.

In the meantime, in his anxiety to avoid actual hostilities until the month of June, Napoleon had recourse to fresh subterfuges, by this means causing a delay which was to be one of the principal causes of the misfortunes of the approaching campaign. He had resolved, therefore, to send a new envoy to Alexander, who should repeat to him all that M. de Lauriston had already said in new words and under another form, and for this purpose selected M. de Narbonne, who had entered his service in 1809, as governor of Raab, and directed him to repair to Alexander's head quarters as the bearer of Napoleon's compliments, and whilst avoiding all dissensions foreign to his mission, to express a desire and even a hope that an armed negotiation between the two sovereigns on the Niemen, would not only put an end to the war

but bring about a renewal of the alliance between them. M. de Narbonne was to declare the object of his mission to be to repair the errors of the French Generals, whose impatience or want of thought had permitted them to indulge in aggressive acts without the orders of their government; whilst he had to declare, should Russian troops have advanced at all beyond their own territories, that such an advance was a very excusable military precaution; and he was directed by those methods to amuse Alexander for twenty or thirty days with the idea that a negotiation would put a stop to the war. At the same time Napoleon informed M. de Narbonne of the true purposes of his mission, and directed him to make the most accurate possible observations of all that might come under his notice at the Russian head quarters.

These last precautions having been taken Napoleon prepared to set out; proposing to proceed first to Dresden, and to remain there during two or three weeks for the purpose of holding a court, which should present to the world such a display of power as it had not seen since the days of Charlemagne, Cæsar, and Alexander.

At the moment of his departure, he determined, in spite of the remonstrances of the Prince Arch-chancellor, on a violent measure, which placed his government on a level with the revolutionary governments which had preceded it. This measure was a tax on corn. The dearth had continued, the price of corn had risen to sixty or seventy francs the hectolitre, a price which would be exorbitant now but which was much more so then, and the populace mingled with its cries of famine, passionate accusations against the farmers and corn dealers, and Napoleon, unable to resist his desire of putting a violent check to the excessive dearness, and believing that he could deal with commerce as he dealt with Europe, published various decrees in the beginning of May, by which the prefects were not only empowered to draw up tariffs for the sale of wheat according to local circumstances, but also to compel those in whose hands it was to bring it to market.

On the 9th of May, after having confided his personal power to the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès and recommended him to use it, not faithfully, for he could not doubt his fidelity, but energetically, of which there was much greater doubt, and after having left as a protection for his wife, his child, and the centre of Europe, some hundreds of old soldiers of the imperial guard who were incapable of any active services, and after having repeatedly declared to all with whom he conversed that he hazarded nothing by this distant war, which he intended to conduct with great care and

to conclude in two campaigns, he set out for Dresden with the Empress, from the midst, not of the affection of his people, but of the admiration, fear, and submission.

Having arrived at Mayence on the 11th he employed the 12th in visiting the fortifications, in giving orders, and the commencement of that reception of sovereigns in which most of the princes of the continent were successively to take part. On the 13th the imperial court passed the Rhine, stopped for a moment at Aschaffenberg, with the prince primate, and on the following day met the King of Wurtemberg, who, a proud sovereign of a little state, paid Napoleon the compliment of meeting him on his way, but not the flattery of accompanying him to Dresden. The imperial court passed the night at Wurzburg, with the Grand Duke of Wurzburg, uncle of the Empress, slept at Bareuth on the following night, and on the 15th at Plauen, traversing Germany through the midst of unheard of crowds with whom curiosity counterbalanced hate; and the emotions of whose curiosity in fact expressed themselves in a manner which almost resembled the expressions of affection and joy,

On the morning of the 16th the good sovereigns of Saxony met the imperial court at Fryburg, and in the evening accompanied it on its entrance into their capital,

On the following day, the 17th, Napoleon held a levy, in the course of which he displayed himself courteous but haughty, and appeared much more intoxicated with his power than he really was, for certain glimmerings of the truth had not failed to cross his spirit. But his doubts were short, and scarcely interrupted his confidence in his unvarying success, in the extent of his forces, and the consciousness of his genius.

Napoleon expected to meet at Dresden the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the latter of the House of Modena, haughty and disdainful of the recent grandeur of her son-in-law, the former delighted to witness the state of a daughter whom he loved, though ashamed of the degradation of his nation. He was of that order of mind which excuses treason on the ground of necessity, and escapes from remorse in thoughtlessness. While his word was pledged to Alexander he listened to the overtures of his rival, desirous of securing himself in either event from risk. His family pride had been flattered by an Italian antiquarian who demonstrated the princely rank of the Bonapartes of Treviso in the middle ages; and which, as well as his own reverses, veiled for the time the affections of his Empress, who was conciliated by the presents and sedulous courtesy and even filial dutifulness of Napoleon.

It was on the first day alone that the King of Saxony entertained the allied sovereigns. Afterwards, although in his own capital, he appeared the guest of the Emperor, for whom a movable palace had been forwarded from Paris. Dresden overflowed with princes and ministers jostling each other to catch sight of or exchange a word with him whose present grandeur sometimes appeared but the antecedent of a tragic catastrophe, and the consequent enfranchisement of Europe, sometimes the offspring of a constant good fortune and the pledge of success against infatuated Russia. But such flattery, however it might inflate the Duke of Bassano, fell unheeded on the satiated ears of the Emperor, who by night devised employment for the thousand courtiers who attended his progress. One matter demanding his attention was the discontent of Germany at the burden which the march of the French army imposed.

Prussia's contract for the supply of the troops had been frustrated by Napoleon's reluctance to discover the line of march. Thus Ney's and Eugene's soldiers, many of them from Wurtemberg and Bavaria, and therefore the more careless of outrages, the blame of which France must bear, had given occasion for loud murmurs. The additional subject of dissatisfaction with Prussia was the occupation of Spandau and Pillau, the key of the cape of Frische-haff, under pretence of providing a guard for the war matériel, for which, in accordance with the treaty, these forts served as the depôt. The King was resolved, spite of the feeling of humiliation which made him dread the festivities of Dresden, to have an interview with the Emperor on these topics, and sent a favorite to the latter, and therefore a living proof of the folly of haste in matters of life and death (for Napoleon had once condemned him to be shot), M. de Hatzfeld, to confer on the matter. This nobleman was well received, but Frederick-William was too important a monument of the glory of France, and therefore his presence was commanded. Other grave themes of discussion were, firstly, the reply of the English government to the last offer of France intimating an acquiescence in the general changes of the map of Europe, on the terms of restitution of Sicily to the House of Bourbon, Portugal to that of Braganza, and of Spain to Ferdinand VII., with whose cause London had identified itself, proposals which, though made with diplomatic courtesy, an incredulity as to the sincerity of France's desire for peace neutralised; and, secondly, a much more serious matter, the demand of his passport by Prince Kourakin, in consequence, as was afterwards discovered, of the detention of a servant supposed to be implicated in a conspiracy, and the refusal to negotiate

on the basis of a retreat to the Oder, as proposed by M. de Serdobin. The Prince was dissuaded from persisting in his intention by the Duke of Bassano, but Napoleon, fearful of being forced to move before June, when vegetation should be far advanced, and the troops sufficiently rested, instructed M. de Lauriston to demand permission to follow Alexander from St. Petersburg, where, though treated with politeness, he could hear nothing of importance, to Wilna. When there he was to remonstrate on the menacing act of Prince Kourakin, and M. de Serdobin's proposition for the evacuation of old Prussia before the conclusion of a treaty (though untruly so represented), terms more insolent than any offered by Napoleon, even after the rout of Austerlitz and Friedland. Should M. de Lauriston fail (an extreme case) in obtaining leave he must demand his passport, though even the transmission of messages to and fro should occupy from five to twenty days. In the other case, besides the gain of time, there would be the advantage of having M. de Lauriston's personal report as to the warlike preparations at Wilna, and even the information collected by acute couriers while passing by the advanced posts.

Napoleon's attention was engaged, too, by vain hopes held out by Sweden of a diversion on the flank, for the treaty of the 5th of April was secret, and the readiness to receive Norway in lieu of Finland was unknown to him, as also by the promise of Turkey which, while resolute against any treaty with Russia which should involve the resignation of Moldavia and Wallachia, was reluctant to give up even Bessarabia, in the event of France commencing hostilities at once. General Audrossy was despatched to Constantinople to assure the Sultan.

The important subject of Poland still remained to be decided. In the meantime, all the world expected to behold its reconstitution, and believed that this was the motive which had induced Napoleon to engage in the impending war. How, in fact, could he make use of those provinces which a fortunate war might give into his hands, if he were not to devote them to this noble purpose? Moreover, Napoleon himself, when on the point of engaging in a new war with Russia, had admitted that one of the natural consequences of that war would be the restoration of Poland. But unfortunately his good sense, which in the midst of his rash enterprise pursued him as a kind of remorse, prohibited him to indulge in hopes of the success of such a measure of reparation as this. In his first campaign of 1807, he had found considerable enthusiasm in Posen, Cracow, Warsaw, and some other large towns, but he had nowhere observed that universal and irre-

sistable vehemence which could have rendered practicable a national reconstitution. And matters in this respect had not sensibly changed in 1812. The high noblesse was divided, the lesser was ruined, and the people engaged in the painful struggle with adversity. Moreover, the continental blockade, the might of which had fallen with peculiar severity upon Poland, had little tended to attach its people to France, and had entirely alienated the Jews, whose commercial resources rendered them important persons in cases of war, The fervour of Polish sentiment was, indeed, almost entirely confined to the army,—of which one portion had fought with us in Italy, Germany, and Spain, whilst the other, formed under Prince Poniatowski, but in our school, had distinguished itself in 1809 in the defence of the grand Duchy, —to the large and patriotic city of Warsaw, and to the other cities of the grand Duchy, whose enthusiasm it was easy to excite. All that Napoleon could hope to effect, therefore, was a large development of the Polish army; to increase it to one hundred and fifty thousand or two hundred thousand men, and by means of its army to raise Poland once more to the rank of nations. But, unhappily, he could spare neither the time nor the resources for the execution of such a plan.

In the meantime Napoleon determined to spare no efforts to excite in Poland that patriotic emotion by means of which he hoped to obtain both men and money, and with this object resolved to send some considerable person to Warsaw with the title of ambassador, which would be equivalent to a declaration that he regarded the grand duchy of Warsaw as a new state, not simply an appanage of Savoy but an independent existence, and capable of resuming the position of the ancient kingdom of Poland. This personage was to urge the Poles to confederate, to rise en masse, to form a general diet, and to double and triple the army of Prince Poniatowski. For this difficult mission Napoleon selected M de Tallyrand, and the selection was a good one, for in addition to great personal qualities, which rendered him peculiarly fitted for such a mission he was at this moment the confidant even to infidelity of the court of Vienna, and he would, therefore, be able to cause less disquiet than any other, to this court, in the pursuit of his delicate mission. But on this very side the project failed, for with an impatience little worthy of him he was guilty of such imprudences on the subject at the court of Vienna that Napoleon experienced new distrust with respect to him, and having arrived at Dresden seeking some one whom he might send to Warsaw in his place, his choice fell upon the Archbishop of Malines, M. de

Pradt, and it would have been difficult to have chosen a man who had more spirit and less prudence.

Having summoned M. de Pradt and announced to him his appointment to the mission—we are about to attempt, he said, to render Russia less powerful, less ambitious, less proud, without, however, having any intention to destroy her—With such intentions, he continued, the reconstitution of Poland was an object evidently desirable, but that in every case it was necessary that Poland should pour out her own blood, since France could not revivify her supply by shedding her own. At the same time he pointed out the necessity of behaving with much prudence with respect to Austria. The archbishop set out, at once terrified and proud of the task set before him, for he was ambitious of being in his own age one of those great politicians of whom the church had furnished such remarkable specimens in times gone by.

The orders he had received to behave cautiously with respect to Austria, whilst at the same time striving to excite the national sentiments of the Poles were very appropriate to the difficulties of the moment. She had been so ill treated in the course of the territorial arrangements of the age, especially when Napoleon had directed them, that she had no wish to be dragged into any further discussions with him respecting territory, and her language with reference to the compensation she might receive from Poland was so vague, cold, and evasive, that Napoleon, perceiving that her troops would soon be on his flank and in his rear temporised with her whilst he awaited the advent of the divinity from whom he was in the habit of expecting the accomplishment of all his wishes—Victory.

Napoleon having devoted three days to these various affairs now prepared to depart, when the King of Prussia arrived at Dresden to complete the circle of crowned courtiers. He arrived on the 26th of May, and was received with the respect due to his character, which was respectable, although false, in obedience to stern necessity, and to his rank, which was still very elevated amongst sovereigns notwithstanding the misfortunes of his country. Napoleon conversed with him with much openness respecting his projects, and took pains to convince him and M. de Hardenberg that he had no designs against the Prussian territories. He excused the excesses committed by the French troops on their march, promised that all the damage they caused should be paid for, and moreover, that Prussia should receive a large territorial compensation should the war have a prosperous issue. He had persuaded Frederick William, who had resolved to retire into Silesia during the war, not to quit his royal residence,

that he might thus display a confidence in his royal ally, which would have a good effect on the minds of the populations; and when the latter presented his son to the Emperor, and offered him to him as one of his aides-de-camp, he appeared less sad than usual, although he was treated with less consideration in the midst of this wondrous assemblage of princes, than he deserved.

The month of May having now nearly reached its end the season for active operations drew nigh. Moreover, M. de Narbonne had arrived from Wilna, after having fulfilled the mission with which he had been charged to the Emperor Alexander, and he brought word that although Alexander was distressed at the idea of war he was resolved to maintain a desperate struggle, and to withdraw into the depths of his empire rather than conclude a peace which would enslave him, as the other monarchs of Europe had already been enslaved. At the same time he affirmed that Alexander was equally determined not to take the initiative in hostilities; and this was the only information brought by M. de Narbonne which interested Napoleon, for it permitted him to feel entire security in the peaceful achievement of his preparatory movements.

Since it would be necessary, in accordance with the plans he had laid down, to carry his arms from the Vistula to the Niemen between the 1st and 15th of June, Napoleon determined to quit Dresden on the 29th of May, to proceed by Posen, Thorn, Dantzic, and Konigsberg, to the Niemen; and after having overwhelmed his father-in-law and mother-in-law with filial attentions, displayed the utmost testimonies of respect towards the King of Prussia, shown the most cordial friendship towards his host the King of Saxony, and behaved towards his Royal visitors with lofty but gracious politeness, he embraced the Empress with emotion and left her more afflicted than might have been supposed probbable in the case of a wife who had been selected for reasons of policy. These adieux having been completed, on the 29th of May Napoleon, accompanied by MM. de Coulaincourt, Berthier, and Duroc, left Dresden for Posen, at the same time having the report opened that he was proceeding to Warsaw, although this was far from his intentions, since he was unwilling to contract personal relations with the Poles before he knew what he could obtain from them; but he was desirous of inspiring them with indefinite hopes, and of persuading the enemy that his first efforts would be in the direction of Volhynia, when, in fact, they would be in a completely opposite quarter.

On his route he found traces of the excesses committed by his

troops, and at Thorn was himself much disgusted at the manner in which the Wurtemberg and Bavarian troops had pillaged and mercilessly devastated the Duchy of Posen, he addressed severe reproaches to Marshal Ney, Prince Eugene, and the hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg, who commanded them. There was, however, some excuse for these commanders in the difficulty there had been to provide for their troops during the forced marches they had had to make; difficulties which were much increased by the numerous artillery which accompanied them, and the enormous size of the waggons which conveyed their provisions. Already many of the illusions which had inspired Napoleon with the hope of being able to overcome the great difficulty presented by the extent of country before him began to dissolve; and an immense quantity of baggage waggons choked up the roads of Germany, and covered them with the carcases of horses which had been forced too young into a too laborious service.

The city of Thorn, when Napoleon arrived on the 2nd of June, presented a scene of extraordinary tumult, for besides the youth of both the old and the new noblesse who were there, with sumptuous appointments, ready to take part in this campaign as though it were a simple march of triumph, there were now in this city the staffs of the Emperor, of the Major General Berthier, that of King Murat, of Prince Eugene, of King Jerome, and of Marshals Davoust, Ney, Oudinot, &c. In addition to the tumult caused by the presence of men, horses, and equipages, was the confusion which naturally arose from the presence of the natives of all countries, speaking French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, in a city of which the inhabitants only spoke Polish. Napoleon was irritated by this uproar, and alarmed at the embarrassment which he foresaw might be occasioned by the elaborate preparations of the staffs for their own comfort; he made various regulations, therefore, with respect to the baggage which might be taken by each; and having compelled the dismissal of a number of diplomatists whom the monarchs, his allies, had intended to send in the train of the grand army for the purpose of furnishing them with information respecting its movements, Napoleon employed himself in reducing the transport service of the army to the limits required by absolute necessity.

Napoleon determined that the general movement of the army from the Vistula to the Niemen should take place on the 6th of June. King Jerome forming the right, was to advance with the Saxons under Reynier, the Poles under Poniatowski, and the Westphalians under his own direct command, by Pultusk, Ostrolenka, and Goniondz, to Grodno.

The Viceroy Eugene, forming the centre with the Bavarians under St Cyr, and the army of Italy under his immediate orders, was to leave Soldau on the 6th and, traversing the saddest provinces of Poland, approach the Niemen in the environs of Prenn. Marshals Oudinot, Ney, Davoust, and the guard, composing the left and great body of the army, were to proceed by the roads of old Prussia parallel to each other, so as not to be a mutual hindrance, and to follow the course of the Niemen from Tilsit to Kowno; Ney passing by Osterode, Schippenbeil, Gerdaun: Oudinot by Marienwerder, Liebstadt, Eylau, Vehlau; Davoust by Elbing, Braunsberg, Tapisu. The guard and the *parks* were to remain in the rear, so as not to be a cause of obstruction. Napoleon calculated that on the 15th or 16th of June all his troops would be in a line along the Niemen, and that after three or four days repose they would be able to enter upon active operations.

The Emperor himself proceeded by Marienberg to Dantzic where many things required his personal care, and where he was to meet his Lieutenants, Davoust and Murat, whom he had not seen for two years. It was at Marienberg he met Marshal Davoust at the moment when he was about to depart to Konigsberg to place himself at the head of the movement of the army, and the reception he received at the hands of the Emperor was not in conformity with the confidence Napoleon had always had in his great talents and solid character. In fact, whilst Marshal Davoust had performed services which exceeded any of the same kind ever known, in accordance with the orders of Napoleon, he had modified these orders as circumstances rendered necessary, without fear of the misconstruction which might be put on such conduct by jealousy; and Major General Berthier, who was his secret and dangerous enemy, because he, Berthier, had been accused in 1809 of having compromised the army whilst Marshal Davoust was considered to have saved it, had taken pains to make Napoleon acquainted with the least resistance offered by Marshal Davoust to the imperial orders. By an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, the Poles, being in quest of a King for their kingdom when it should be reconstituted, had turned their attention towards the Prince of Echmühl, and had expressed their wishes on this point in the salons of Warsaw until they had reached the Tuileries, and excessively displeased Napoleon, who was little satisfied at the attempt at royalty made in Portugal, and made and realised in Sweden. Marshal Davoust knew nothing and would have cared little for the intended honours, for he was one of the few of Napoleon's companions in arms who had not grown enervated at the sumptuous banquet of Fortune.

But Napoleon, failing to enquire into the truth of this fact, finding everywhere along the banks of the Vistula the traces of the most profound veneration for Marshal Davoust, and his name in every mouth, became, not so much jealous as annoyed at a greatness which he had himself created, and received his Marshal with a coldness of which the latter took no account, being habituated to Napoleon's brusqueries, and attributing their increased frequency to an irritability which increased with age, fatigue, and cares. But the period of his favour with his master had entirely passed away.

On the 7th of June, Napoleon arrived at Dantzic, where he met another of his Lieutenants, Murat, who had been less fortunate in becoming a king than Davoust in remaining a lieutenant, and who, while he was the most brilliant and daring of soldiers, was quite capable of being led into infidelity, by vanity, ambition, and evil council, and had inspired Napoleon with considerable distrust; and the latter, that he might have at his disposal the best cavalry officer of the age, and at the same time be able to keep constant watch over a very fickle man, had summoned Murat to the army. When they met at Dantzic Murat was fatigued and sick at the time, and Napoleon remarking his paleness and the absence of his ordinary looks, demanded roughly what was the matter, and whether he were not content with being a king. "But sire," replied Murat, "I scarcely am a king"—"I have not made you and your brothers kings," bitterly replied Napoleon, "that you should reign in your fashion but in mine, following my policy and remaining Frenchmen on foreign thrones."

Napoleon passed several days at Dantzic in inspecting the fortifications of a place which was to play an important part in the impending war; in visiting the magazines and bridges of the Vistula, and rectifying and completing all that had been done with the most unequalled skill. From Dantzic he proceeded to Elbing, and from Elbing to Konigsberg, where he arrived on the 12th of June, with the purpose of inspecting the means of interior navigation, by which were to be conveyed his vast magazines from the depôt of Dantzic to the heart of the Russian provinces. Colonel Baste, a distinguished officer, who was as intrepid by land as by sea, was entrusted with the direction of this navigation, which commencing at Dantzic, passing by the Vistula, Frische-haff, the Pregel, the Deime, the Curische-haff, the Niemen, and the Wilia, ended at Wilna itself. To this officer, moreover, had been entrusted the defence of the Frische-haff and the Curische-haff, being entrusted for this purpose with two battalions of the imperial guard, which were to occupy these vast lagunes with gun boats strongly armed.

At Dantzic were the depôts of the guard and of the troops of Marshal Davoust, and these were able to furnish independently of the troops left in the works, a division *mobile* of eight thousand men at Dantzic, and of six thousand at Konigsberg, which communicating by means of cavalry, would always be able to unite against an unexpected attack. Napoleon, having seen with his own eyes the execution of his orders, directed the immediate departure of a first convoy, comprising provisions and the whole matériel of six pontoon bridges. A second convoy was to consist of an equal quantity of provisions and the munitions of the artillery; whilst the following were to carry provisions and clothing and the siege train intended to be employed against Riga.

Whilst these convoys proceeded towards the Pregel and the Niemen, Napoleon devoted his attention to the hospitals, and organised sufficient for the reception of twenty thousand patients between Konigsberg, Bramsberg, and Elbing, and having employed the first half of June in these various works he resolved to enter upon the actual commencement of this formidable campaign; and devoted a few moments on the banks of the Niemen to certain necessary preliminary formalities.

On the day following that on which Napoleon had departed for Dresden, M. Signeul had arrived there from Stockholm with a secret message from the Prince Royal, in answer to the overtures made through the Princess Royal. At the same time that the official communication was made by accredited Swedish ministers announcing in cold and haughty terms the intention of Sweden to remain neutral between the belligerent powers, and offering, which was simply ridiculous, the mediation of Sweden between the contending powers. In the secret communication Bernadotte, who was as faithless to his new ally as to his native country, declared that Sweden could well resign Finland, the possession of which would but involve her in a perpetual war with Russia, and that the recompense she hoped to obtain for the loss of it was Norway, which nature evidently intended to be united with Sweden, whilst the loss of this country might well be recompensed to Denmark by the grant of Swedish Pomerania. With respect to the subsidy Bernadotte declared that Sweden could not equip an army without it, and that the value of twenty millions which Napoleon had attributed to the permission to introduce colonial produce on the continent, was quite illusory, since the English would not fail to perceive the motives of this introduction, and immediately put a stop to it. On the twofold grant, therefore, of Norway and a

real subsidy of twenty millions, the Prince Royal offered to bind himself to France by a treaty which must, doubtless, violate that which he had signed with Russia.

Napoleon was excessively irritated at this message, and severely blamed and ridiculed the blindness of the Prince Royal, which rendered him willing to resign Finland to Russia. "*Le miserable!*" exclaimed Napoleon repeatedly; "he is untrue to himself, to Sweden, and to his native country; he is not worthy of occupying my attention; let no one mention his name to me, let no answer be sent to his message, either officially or privately."

This resolution, although very honest and almost inevitable on account of the difficulty of persuading Denmark to resign Norway, must, nevertheless, be very much regretted, for thirty or forty thousand Swedes threatening St. Petersburg instead of Hamburg, would have changed the destinies of the war.

The second diplomatic matter which now occupied Napoleon's attention was the declaration to be published at the commencement of the war; and as a motive was necessary for an immediate rupture so as to enable the French troops, with some show of decency, to cross the Niemen about the 20th or 25th of June, Napoleon, with his usual address, devised one which, having little real foundation, was sufficiently specious to deceive many historians; and this was, that Russia having demanded the evacuation of Prussia as the preliminary to any negotiation, had attempted to impose upon France a dishonourable condition. This pretext was contrary to the truth, since Russia had demanded the evacuation, not as a preliminary condition but as an assured consequence of any negotiation on the disputed points. To this assumed offence was added the provocation occasioned, it was said, by Prince Kourakin's reiterated demands for his passports. Some plausible pretext was wanting for the immediate commencement of hostilities, and Napoleon adopted these for the want of better. M. de Lauriston was ordered, therefore, to demand his passports immediately, under the pretext that the endeavour to make us evacuate Prussia having become public was an outrage which could not be tolerated; but in case he should have already proceeded to Wilna (and this renders completely nugatory the idea that the refusal to admit him to Wilna was the cause of the rupture), he was directed not to demand his passports before the 22nd, Napoleon wishing to cross the Niemen on the 22nd or 23rd. At the same time he was informed that the dispatch written to him on the 16th from Konigsberg would be antedated, and appear to have been sent from Thorn on the 12th, in order to persuade the Russians that he was more distant, and

less in a position to commence active proceedings than he really was.

This diplomatic formality having been accomplished, Napoleon departed from Konigsberg to join his troops on the Pregel. His first care was to provide his troops with provisions sufficient for ten days, in the course of which he hoped, as at Ulm in 1805, at Jena in 1806, and at Ratisbonne in 1809, to strike one of those terrible blows which, from the very commencement of operations, usually disconcerted his enemies during the remainder of the war; and with a view to this object Napoleon repaired to Insterberg, where he arrived on the evening of the 17th of June.

In accordance with the general plan which he had formed for his first operation, Napoleon resolved to pass the Niemen at Kowno; and to comprehend the motives which induced him to take this resolution we must glance at the vast countries which were to be the theatre of this formidable war, which was to be the greatest and most tragic that had ever occurred.

The immense plains which stretch from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, are traversed on one side by the Oder, the Vistula, the Pregel, the Niemen, and the Dwina, rivers flowing to the west, and on the other by the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga, rivers flowing to the east, and compose, as is well known, the territory of old Prussia, old Poland, and Russia; and it was on these vast plains that Napoleon was about to endeavour to overcome, by the efforts of his genius, the greatest difficulties of war, namely, those which are presented by distant tracts of country, especially when they are neither cultivated nor inhabited. The lower portion of these plains, and so to say, the embouchures of the Oder, the Vistula, the Pregel, and the Niemen, form the sad but prodigiously fertile territory of old Prussia. By ascending these streams and proceeding from west to east we arrive at more sterile districts, where there are fewer inhabitants and more forests and marshes; and these characteristics we find in still stronger development as we proceed farther to the east, towards the sources of the Vistula, the Narew, the Niemen, and the Dwina. Proceeding from the sources of the Vistula and its tributaries, and those of the Niemen and the Dwina, towards those of the Dniester and the Dnieper, we encounter a soil of which the uncertain inclination offers so slight a flow to the waters on its surface, that it is covered with marshes and dense forests. Still advancing to the east across this district we arrive between the sources of the Dwina and the Dnieper, about twenty leagues distant from each other, and find our-

selves in a species of opening extending from Witepsk to Smolensk, by which we emerge from old Poland into Russia, and reach a country in which, the waters flowing more freely, the marshes and forests disappear, and we see before us the plains of old Russia, on the bosom of which rises Moscow, Moscow the holy, as it is named by the patriotism of its children.

With his unequalled coup d'œil, Napoleon had perceived at a glance that his march should be directed towards this opening, which is situated between the sources of the Dwina and the Dnieper, between Witepsk and Smolensk. It is here that are situated, in fact, the gates of the East, and where formerly the Poles and the Muscovites, in their alternate victories and defeats, were accustomed to be reciprocally stopped, for the Dwina on one side, and the Dnieper on the other, were the limit between Russia and old Poland, before the famous partition, which had been the misfortune and the shame of the last age.

But before these gates could be reached it was necessary to traverse old Prussia, and that part of Poland which had recently been reconstituted as the grand Duchy of Warsaw.

The upper course of the river Bug and the upper course of the river Narew, both tributaries of the Vistula, formed by their inflexions the first part of the boundary line of the grand Duchy on the side of Russia; and this frontier line after having sometimes followed the Bug and sometimes the Narew, Brezesc-litowsky to the environs of Grodno, joins the Niemen at Grodno, and pursues the course of this stream rising to the north as far as Kowno, thus separating Poland properly so called from Lithuania. At Kowno the Niemen, definitively taking its course to the west and running towards Tilsit, no longer separates Poland but old Prussia from Russia. The frontier line which had to be now crossed ran, therefore, to the north, from Brezesc to Grodno, following by turns the Bug or the Narew, then running still more to the north from Grodno to Kowno, following the Niemen, and finally turning abruptly towards the Kowno, proceeding in this direction as far as Tilsit, and from this point following the course of the Niemen. It made, therefore, at its northern extremity an angle towards Kowno, and it was there that Napoleon had determined to pass the Niemen, to gain a point from which, according to circumstances, he might halt, or from which he might set forth to force the gates of old Prussia and plunge into its immense plains.

The disposition of the Russian forces was of a nature to confirm Napoleon in his choice of this route; for the Rus-

sians, although they had their advanced posts at the very frontier of their territory, on the upper streams of the Bug and the Narew and along the Niemen, nevertheless only regarded the Dwina and the Dnieper as the true line of defence. These rivers, as we have already said, rising at the distance of twenty leagues from each other and flowing, the Dwina towards the Baltic and the Dnieper towards the Black Sea, presented, with the exception of the opening between Witepsk and Smolensk, a continued and immense line running from the north-west to the south-east, and traversing the whole empire from Riga to Nicholaieff. Since they had commenced the concentration of their forces the Russians had naturally formed two principal collections of troops, one on the Dwina from Witepsk to Dunaburg, the other on the Dnieper from Smolensk to Rogaczew, and these collections of troops had gradually been converted into two armies, which had been advanced, the first to Ulm, the second to Minsk, with the intention that they should unite, or act separately, according to circumstances. The first of these armies commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, posted on the Dwina, with its head quarters at Wilna, and its advanced posts at Kowno on the Niemen, was to receive the reserves from the north of the empire; whilst a second, commanded by Prince Bragation, posted on the Dnieper, with its head quarters at Minsk, and its advanced posts at Grodno on the Niemen, was to receive the reserves of the centre of the empire, and to unite itself by means of General Tormasof's army with the troops of Turkey.

Amongst all the confused and contradictory reports of the agents sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position Napoleon's military genius had clearly shown him that there must be an army on the Dwina, and another on the Dnieper; the one of which (numbering one hundred and fifty thousand men) would be in a position to advance in the direction of Wilna and Kowno, whilst the other (numbering a hundred thousand men) would advance in the direction of Minsk and Grodno. This being actually the case Napoleon immediately determined on his plan of operations.

The Niemen, as has already been stated, flows northwards from Grodno to Kowno, and there making an abrupt turn flows to the west from Kowno to Tilsit. By advancing, therefore, upon Kowno in the bason of the angle formed by the Niemen, Napoleon would have but to pass the Niemen at Kowno with two hundred thousand men, to advance upon Wilna with that terrible energy which always distinguished his commencement of operations; and by placing himself there between the army of the Dwina and that of

the Dnieper, he would secure the separation of those armies from each other during the remainder of the campaign; and would thus, moreover, be in a position to advance upon Moscow, since he would have but on his right and his left the divided elements of the Russian power.

For the execution of this plan Napoleon determined to unite under his own command the corps of Marshals Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, and the imperial guard, and two of the four corps of the cavalry reserve; amounting altogether to two hundred thousand men; and with this crushing mass of troops to advance by Kowno upon Wilna, whilst Marshal Macdonald with thirty thousand men should pass the Niemen at Tilsit on his left, take possession of the two banks of this stream, and ensure its free navigation by our convoys; Prince Eugene at the head of about eighty thousand troops should cross on his right at a place named Prenn; and King Jerome at the head of seventy thousand troops should cross it at Grodno.

Having made the most detailed arrrangements for the execution of his vast plans, Napoleon quitted Konigsberg on the 17th to proceed by Vehlau, Insterburg, and Gumbinnen, to the Pregel, a river that flows parallel with, but some leagues behind, the Niemen, and on the banks of which all our corps d'armée had taken up positions for the purpose of receiving their provisions. Having here reviewed the various corps Napoleon hastened, by means of the waggons which had already arrived, the conveyance from Vehlau to Gumbinnen of sufficient rations to enable each corps to take with it at least six days' provisions, instead of the ten days' provisions he had hoped to have provided them with during the first operations; and sent forward the cavalry reserve, and the reserve of artillery, and the pontoon equipages, ordering Marshal Davoust to escort them with his corps to Wilkowisk, so that they should arrive before Kowno by the 22nd or 23rd. On the 21st Napoleon left Gumbinnen, and arriving at Wilkowisk on the 22nd was only separated from Kowno and the Niemen by the great forest of Wilkowisk. The fatal moment had, therefore, now arrived, and he was on the bank of that river which may well be said to have been the rubicon of his prosperity. All the corps had reached the bank of the Niemen and he had no longer cause to hesitate to cross it.

Having ordered Marshal Macdonald on his left, and Prince Eugene on his right, to cross the Niemen at Tilsit and Prenn respectively as soon as possible, and directed King Jerome to reach Grodno by the 30th at the latest, Napoleon, on the 23rd of June debouched from the forest of Wilko-

wisk with two hundred thousand troops, leading them above Kowno opposite the river they were about to cross. General Haxo, after a careful reconnaissance had discovered, a league and a half above Kowno, towards a place named Poniemon, a point where the Niemen afforded great facilities for its passage, and Napoleon having discovered by personal inspection that the position offered the advantages attributed to it by General Haxo, ordered General Eblé to throw three bridges across it that same night. Before dawn this order was executed and the light cavalry enabled to pass to the opposite bank.

On the morning of the 24th of June, whilst the sun, rising brilliantly, illumined one of the most magnificent spectacles ever seen, the following short and energetic address was read to the troops, who were inspired with the utmost ardour. "Soldiers! The second Polish war has commenced. The first ended at Friedland and at Tilsit! . . . At Tilsit Russia swore an eternal alliance with France and war against England. She now violates her oaths; and refuses any explanation of her strange conduct . . . . Russia is constrained by a fatality; she is about to meet her fate. Does she suppose that we are degenerate?—that we are no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offered us the choice of war or dishonour, and we made our choice without hesitation. Let us march then, let us pass the Niemen, let us carry the war into her own territory. The second Polish war shall bring glory to the French arms; and when we conclude peace, it shall be a peace that shall destroy the ill-omened influence that Russia has exercised on the affairs of Europe during the last fifty years."

This proclamation having been vehemently applauded, the troops descended from the heights in three long columns. Marshal Davoust's infantry, preceded by the light cavalry, were the first to cross the river; and each division passing in its turn to the opposite bank, arrayed itself in battle array on the plain on the farther side, the infantry in close columns, the artillery in the intervals between the infantry, the light cavalry in advance, and the heavy cavalry in the rear. The corps of Marshals Oudinot and Ney followed; then the guard; and after the guard, the *parks*. Within a few hours the right bank was covered with these magnificent troops which, descending from the heights of the left bank, and pouring down in long files upon three points, seemed like three irresistable torrents filling with their waters the plain into which they poured.

After having contemplated for some hours this extraordinary spectacle, Napoleon quitted the height on which his

tents had been pitched, and descending to the Niemen crossed it by one of the bridges, and turning abruptly to the left, and preceded by some squadrons of cavalry, hastened towards Kowno, into which our light cavalry had already entered without difficulty, in pursuit of some Cossacks who had hastened to repass the Wilia. Napoleon, accompanied by the Polish lancers of the guard, was anxious to become immediately master of the two banks of the Wilia, to throw the pontoon bridges across it, and thus be able to pursue the Russian rear-guard; and accordingly the Polish lancers dashed into the river in close column, but when they had reached the middle of the stream they could not resist the force of the current, and although boats were instantly sent to their aid, twenty or thirty paid with their lives for their enthusiastic obedience. However, communication between the two banks of the Wilia was speedily established, and Napoleon went forward to sleep at Kowno, after having ordered Marshal Davoust to échelon his advanced guard on the Wilna route.

Thus the die was cast. Thus Napoleon marched towards the interior of Rusia at the head of four hundred thousand men, followed by two hundred thousand others. Thus the same man who two years before, on his return from Austria, had reflected a moment on the lesson given at Essling, had taken pains to bestow peace on the world and on his empire, to endow his throne with hereditary stability, to assume the character of a man of domestic tastes, to appease all enmities, to evacuate Germany, and to force England to make peace; —this same man, we say, was now advancing to the north, leaving behind him France exhausted and disgusted with a murderous glory, all independent minds indignant at his political tyranny, and Europe weary of the yoke he had laid upon her; whilst all these feelings were sullenly cherished in the ranks of the army which he took with him, an army composed of troops of all nations, only held united by his genius and his prosperity. What would become, in the midst of the distant tracts of country it now traversed, of this vast army of six hundred thousand men, following one star, if this star should suddenly pale from before their sight? This problem, to our misfortune, has been solved for the world in a manner it can never forget! but it still remains to inform it, by the detailed narrative of events, of that of which it has only been informed by the clamour of a terrible catastrophe. In this sad and heroic recital we are about to engage. Glory we shall meet with at every step; but of good fortune not a trace beyond the Niemen.

END OF VOLUME XIII.

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